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ALIENATION, SOCIALISM AND SELF-MANAGEMENT

Mordechai Blanche

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A K A D E M I S K A V H A N D L I N G

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Avhandlingen söker visa att de tre begreppen alienation, socialism och "autogestion" (självstyre) - i sig själva vaga och mer eller mindre "metafysiska" begrepp - kan relateras till varandra på ett sådant sätt att de erhåller en precisare mening och samtidigt bildar en idealtyp i Webers bemärkelse som sammanfattar huvudlinjerna i både det franska och det portugisiska socialistpartiets program. Arbetet är en fortsättning på ett tidigare arbete om alienationsbegreppets idéhistoriska bakgrund, det undersöker, med ideologiska skrifter från de bägge socialistpartierna som empirisk bas, hur denna idé idag är "materialiserad" som politiskt verksam faktor.

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I N T R O D U C T I O N

This work should be seen as a continuation of my MA-thesis. In that thesis (for a summary, see appendix) I discussed the historical evolution of the idea of alienation, here I intend to show how this idea can today be found materialized as a political, operative force in the programmes of two European socialist parties. Let me make it clear then, that I intend here only to discuss a certain type of socialism, and not to present in any way a history of socialism, or alienation for that matter, in general.

My thesis is that with the help of three concept - alienation, socialism, self-management - it is possible to formulate a coherent "model" or "ideal type" (in Max Weber's sense) of a certain stream of thought within contemporary socialism. Taken by themselves all three concepts, though in common usage, are problematic. However, by relating them to each other clarity of definition is achieved, and an ideal type constructed that summarizes the central ideas at the basis of the two political programmes.¹

Alienation - as understood by this stream of thought - describes and assesses the difficulties of modern society. The overcoming of these difficulties is dependent on man's ability to create a society in which each will be master of his own life, and none will control another. This possibility is named socialism, and it means - a regime of self-management.

For a number of reasons, I have chosen to present this stream of thought as it is articulated in the publications of the socialist parties of France and Portugal. The reasons are listed as follows:

- a. The thinkers, leaders and parties that belong to this socialist stream make considerable use of the concept of alienation, and I shall attempt to prove that one can present, with a fair degree of clarity, a formulated "model" of "alienation" from their ideas.

- b. The political importance of the French and Portuguese socialist parties is not in any doubt. Both belong to a socialist school for which alienation - self-management are a key to understanding the distress caused by capitalism, as well as the course of the socialist revolution itself.
- c. From the programme of the French Socialist Party published in 1972, one can identify an "original" socialist school of thought that cannot be classified according to classic communist or social-democratic definitions.
- d. There are of course more prosaic reasons. I have been acquainted directly with members of both the French and Portuguese socialist movements, have visited those countries many times, and have collected material for this present work in Paris and Lisbon during November-December 1976. I have met leaders and active intellectuals in both parties, and have studied considerable amounts of material from their information centres.

An integral part of this work will be quotations from the official writings of these parties. I shall be presenting the relevant excerpts from the French Socialist Party in their own language, and shall be giving a free translation of the Portuguese. All translations are of course at my own responsibility.

This work will, roughly speaking, have two parts: a discussion of the basic ideas behind the political programmes, or, in other words, the construction of an ideal type, and then an investigation of how these ideas are applied to practical political questions. The "ideal type" I will construct is a utopian model in which socialism is conceived and connected with self-management. Self-management, then, is seen both as the way to achieve socialism, and, at the same time, as socialism.

The first part will begin with a presentation of the three concepts one by one, how they relate to each other, and finally, how they emerge as essentially one integrated idea, as one category with a clear normative background. I will close this

part by trying to prove that this idea as a whole can be presented comprehensively on two pages (pages:106/107) in an intelligible, simple and clear way. This simplicity will help us to understand how the regulative idea presented in the first part can be put in political terms.

In the second part I describe the two political programmes. I contend that the specific positions taken by the two parties on different problems (economical, social, management problems, etc.) can all be understood from the a priori basis as described in the first part. I also suggest that from this basis it should be possible to foresee with a fair approximation what position the two parties are most likely to take on many other issues. My analysis, again, is from the point of view of the specific a priori idea. Thus, there are parts of these party programmes which are not compatible with this idea. These parts are based in the specific historical, economical and political problems they face. Let me also say here that I am aware that the two parties I speak of are not solely "workers" parties. At least not in the way we can talk about the Communist Party of France, for example. There are many middle-class and white collar workers who participate in these organisations. I will not go into a sociological analysis of why the ideas presented here did not develop in the traditional working-class. Also, I do not try to analyse the Yugoslavian experience, even though there are some similarities. My reason for this is simply that this would require a work by itself.

In every work of compilation one must choose according to certain criteria. Here I have chosen that which can be seen as expressions of the idea of alienation. Thus, I cannot prove that alienation is the only normative category, or even the most important one in the publications of the two parties. But I think I do prove that it would be very hard to look at the ideologies of these parties as a coherent system without that category.

One may be critical of my presentation of philosophical ideas

with no discussion of whether they can at all be put into practice. In the chapter on Portugal, I point out that there have been failures in the attempts to realize the idea of self-management. We may certainly speak of a failure of the experiments of the workers of Paris and Lyon in the 1840's. I have myself experienced the attempts to construct a community on the principles of self-management in the Israeli kibbutzim (Buber called this experience "a wonderful non-failure"). In this thesis I do not try to say that "autogestion", as an answer to alienation in modern society, is an idea that can be realized. But I try to suggest that the idea is intelligible, relevant, and is a normative category that influences the ideology of two important parties. Should they base their policies on this idea, the leaders of the two parties would be able to orient the changes in their societies. The pages of history are open yet, and only the future can teach us if it is possible to realize such an ideal.

Since this work is a continuation of my MA-thesis, certain problematic concepts such as totality, authenticity, happiness, that were there discussed at length, will here be presupposed. For the same reason, there will be no systematic discussion of the concept of alienation within the framework of the Marxist tradition (e.g. its different aspects: Entäusserung, Entfremdung, Veräusserung, Reification, Fetishism, etc.).

I must also explain the use I make of Martin Buber's ideas in the first part of the thesis, because it is obvious that Buber is an outsider in the actual historical development of the socialist ideas in Europe (Buber influenced and was influenced by anarchist thinkers and he was a close friend to Gustav Landauer). Buber's arguments make it easier for me to present an integration of the four concepts (capitalism, alienation, socialism, self-management) as one idea with an ethical, aesthetical, and political meaning.

The socialist idea presented in this work lies in the tradition of "ethical" socialism, one which has its roots with those

branded by Marx as "Utopian Socialists". This discussion about the two streams in socialist thought, scientific and utopian, was presented very clearly in the meetings of the 2nd International. The utopian idea can be found in the works of Proudhon, Kropotkin and Baukunin. I am currently writing a paper on this topic.

How helpful this utopian model is in real existence is still a question of great debate. I believe that it is not only helpful, but also necessary. Not in the sense that it offers a model way of life to be realized, but necessary as a regulative ideal, as criteria of judgement and as a guide to steps and programs of action.

A L I E N A T I O N

Alienation is an excellent example of a problematic concept. It is widely used yet of doubtful explicitness. There have been many attempts at a definition, yet these sometimes contradict each other to the point where it would be purposeless to seek a unification in order to study one generalized notion. To do that, we would need to establish the criteria for choice of definition, and this in itself would cause an endless regression.

I do not contend that the concept of "alienation" is explicit enough to make it useful as a tool in a scientific study. To the extent that empirical studies of alienation have been performed in one or another sector of society, to the extent that attempts have been made to "quantify" alienation² -- these have only been of partial phenomena, where the concept has served as a generalisation or syndrome in the partial context. It is possible, in such cases, that "alienation" is used as a "key" to understanding contemporary social reality. If we accept the assumption of a concept serving as key, then it must also be the basis for a theory that permits investigation of the complex modern reality. Yet such a theoretical device has yet to come into being, and we must not view alienation as a magical conceptual system that will replace an all-encompassing theory of the modern industrial society (nor is this the place to debate whether such a theory is desirable or feasible).

There are many options open to us for arguing the importance of one or another concept. In this work I shall confine myself to the relevancy of the concept of alienation to the political, ideological, social, and cultural spheres. That it is accorded significance in various aspects of life is a fact. Let us recapitulate from Henri Lefebvre:

"....L'alienation, image ou concept, peu importe, sert de révélateur, d'analyseur et de catalyseur à toutes les conditions humaines. Ce qu'avait annoncé Marx dès 1844. Elle stimule, après la dénonciation, la contes-

tation et la protestation. Elle joue un rôle déterminant dans l'immense vague contestataire qui moute à l'assant de l'ordre établi et culmine en 1968. Les étudiants ont éprouvé d'une façon cumulative les aliénations de la jeunesse, de la culture, du travail, du sexe." ³

Alienation includes a theoretical and an evaluatory aspect.

"Following Marx -- the concept of alienation serves as a means of describing a certain type of phenomenon (by way of description of a certain social situation), and supplies the means to evaluate those phenomena (alienation being seen as something negative that must be overcome). Firstly, this is a critique of reality in the light of a value system that serves as postulate. Secondly, this is a critique of primary values in the light of historical experience and empirical data." ⁴

There are concepts that relate directly to objects or institutions, yet there are also multi-dimensional concepts that cannot be split without detracting from their meaning. In the case of alienation, it is impossible to separate its theoretical and evaluatory aspects. Despite various attempts at univocal clarity, alienation cannot be parted from the value and emotional considerations that accompany it. These have taken shape in almost unlimited oral usage at various levels and in various strata of the population -- mostly in the developed countries.

One can say that "alienation" covers the compendium of man's problems in modern society: that it can be replaced via negativa by things that are lacking in man's life, such as "identification", "involvement", "belonging", etc. Alienation is at the opposite pole of those feelings.

Therefore, in order to understand a man's being in a state of alienation, we must suppose an ideal state in which the elements that the alienated man lacks have indeed materialised. The concept of "alienated work" for ego, assumes certain ideal values connected with work which is "un-alienated", in which the worker identifies completely with what he does, and feels no rift between "work" and "leisure". The concept of "reification" ⁵ is also conditional on our acceptance of a system of humanistic values that negate the transformation of man into an object or a commodity which - according to this

conception - is what indeed happens under the various capitalist processes.⁶

It is of course possible to make other assumptions, and to contend that alienation is a social or psychological phenomenon which, in the final eventuality, is a positive factor. Potter, for example,⁷ raises the possibility that the feeling of alienation (characterised by loneliness and remoteness from society) is caused for the most part by changes that have taken place in the systems of society. The small, intimate, permanent, integrated societies (such as family, close neighbours, religious congregation) have been replaced by open, extensive, non-stable and less personal societies. Alienation, therefore, is a certain -- though not too expensive -- price to pay in order that human society may break loose from traditional value systems that typify paternalistic and totalitarian societies.

Potter's view is that of a minority, and is an exception. Most writers and researchers who deal with alienation can be categorised by their adherence, more or less, to a tradition in that they blend a description of situation, process or phenomenon with a negative evaluation according to a normative a-priori system.

In characterising alienation they usually extrapolate certain factors that are common to a specific type of social fact. These characteristics are generalised and classified in a syndrome of phenomena. The description of alienation takes into account social conditions and processes which are presented in pseudo-psychological data.

Objectivation accompanies all human activity, it only becomes alienation under certain social conditions. Since alienation is a product of certain conditions, one may assume that under other conditions objectivation will not assume the significance of alienation.⁸

Intentional human activity cannot guarantee that its results

(whether in work, culture, creativity or science) will be in keeping with the desires of those who carry it out. There is alienation when social activity, on becoming integrated into historical processes, produces unintended consequences. In the organisation and structure of society unintended consequences appear in place of defined intent. Man's social creativity escapes his control, confronts him and, in certain circumstances, acts against his creativity.

A few examples:

- a. People manufacture objects which have use-value for them. Under certain social conditions, these objects are valued according to their exchange value on the market (as commodities). Despite their functional destination, the objects "behave independently" under the market conditions. The same process creates crises, unemployment, shortage, decrease or increase in purchase power, etc.
- b. Certain scientific discoveries were originally intended as discovery per se, yet under certain social conditions the discoveries escape the control of the "discoverers" - and may even become dangerous to their lives.
- c. Administration and government, with all the institutions of state, are the creations of human beings. In given social conditions, they may move beyond the control of the people and even be used against them.
- d. Ideas and ideologies become institutionalised, and sometimes function without their "inventors" so desiring in conflict with the initial intent. Ideas of "love thy fellowman" have on occasion been turned into the tools of hatred, despite the original desires of the first proponents.⁹

All these examples, in spite of differences share a common denominator in that, subjectively, they originate in the thought of human beings. Yet they can acquire an autonomous, material (in the social sense) dimension -- one that is external to the people involved. This external existence appears to be independent of the individual. It is a duality shaping up in one

activity -- something not solely subjective, or dependent on man's desire or conscious thought, nor solely objective, for objectivity acquires its significance, as such, only when compared with the subject.

Thus "alienation" is the name given a certain process taking place between individual and society. Wherein man believes that the world in which he lives is not one created by himself and his activity. This fetishisation of social institutions, the belief that the existing norms and values are the "given" conditions in which people live, is illusory. These institutions are really no more than "object"ifications of previous human activity.¹⁰

Man himself, both socially and, consequently, in his self-view, bears social characteristics (function, role) that are external to him. Roles and poses become an extra part of his personality, which then "splits" as man, on the one hand, stands before himself in all authenticity, yet, on the other hand -- in the social view -- he is forced by the needs of the external function to posture behind a mask. It could be said that the problem of the alienation of human activity is based in a process wherein "people" are reified, and "things" personified. People "function" and objects "behave".¹¹

These observations can be employed to categorise alienation in general terms -- between individual and environment -- yet it is also possible to examine alienation in specific aspects of man's relations to one or other sector of any particular social institution.

Alienation is a concept for the evaluation of a process. I have tried elsewhere to explain that alienation should not be examined in terms of causal series, but rather in its totality. This in no way implies that the sources and results of alienation cannot be diagnosed analytically, as indeed they can. Lack of understanding or normlessness, dissatisfaction and loneliness, are all different shades of alienation, yet compre-

hensively they form one aspect. Analytically one could say-- if we use the above examples -- that the origin of alienation (normlessness) is to be found on the normative structural level of society. Alienation itself is expressed as a psychological state in the individual, and man's behaviour (a move away from and the negation of the socially established) is a result (or a final stage) of the entire process.¹²

Specific social conditions are the elements that transform man's productive activity in various areas into an alienated activity, and among these are:

- a. Human work (production) and its products become "goods".
- b. Work (or production and its results) directed towards society, become the property of an individual or group (or is in practice controlled by an individual or group).
- c. The division of labour customary in society brings man to view his fellow and himself as "a function" or role-filler. Man's completeness is transformed to "partialness".

In the light of those conditions, man's feelings can be categorised in five analytical types:

- a. Powerlessness -- as he sees a rift between his activity and the results that he can expect from it.
- b. Meaninglessness -- when he does not understand, and is not capable of giving rational meaning (from his point of view) to the events in which he participates.
- c. Normlessness -- a situation in which the individual encounters differing and contradictory expectations of his behaviour, and that behaviour is not supported or is negated by at least a section of society.
- d. Isolation -- when he feels a foreignness intruding between himself and the objectives and values of society.
- e. Self-estrangement -- when the individual feels alien to himself. When his abilities and potentialities become an "annexe" or a means.¹³

Thus, to recapitulate, alienation relates to a process in its

entirety, yet to analytically understand the process, it is possible and important to examine various aspects of time and place as well as the sociological, psychological and economic aspects.

S O C I A L I S M

I do not intend or propose to offer a new definition or new origins for socialism, but rather to present a certain view of socialism in the context of overcoming alienation by changing society in a certain direction. Social change implies changes in many human activities and their component parts -- behaviour patterns, accepted values and, no less, the moral infrastructure by which people measure and evaluate their own activities.

Socialism does indeed intend to carry out changes, and these cannot materialise without activity of a political nature -- yet this political activity is guided by moral principles.

"Because of the fact that the socialist movement is an initiator whose objective is to base inter-personal relations on justice, socialist activity forms a move to a moralisation of political life. The socialists intent to change things in order to change people's values in relation to each other. From this derives that socialist political activity cannot be separated from the moral background, the ideals and the moral imagery of those who are active in the socialist movement." 14

It is important to note that, when Mme Audry refers to the socialist movement and those active in the socialist party, she means a certain type of socialist party and a certain type of political activist -- the type that has taken shape in France against the background of the 1972 publication of the programme "To Change Life".

In coming to study a specific socialist stream of thought, typified by certain ideas, it is important to review its historic development within the European workers movement -- in order to place the socialists of self-management in their proper position on the map of the growth of ideas.

One can distinguish three socialist movements that are presently active, and that differ from each other in their declared objectives and their strategies. Communism, to which, the

realisation of the socialist ideal implies a classless state, without governmental political power. This is thought to be achieved through the nationalisation or appropriation by society of the means of production, thereby eliminating classes. This ideology calls for a transition period in which the class struggle becomes intense, thus justifying dictatorship as expressed by centralist control exercised by the communist party (which is the party of the working class) over the governmental institutions. In recent years there are signs among a number of Western communist parties of changes concerning the stage of proletarian dictatorship, yet it is difficult to know to what extent this is a tactic designed to permit wider coalition, or to what extent it is a real ideological move. While the French Communist Party declares democratisation yet preserves its internal Bolshevik structure, there are indications within the Italian Communist Party of more open and free discussion. As a result of this the party is changing its attitude to the role of dictatorship on the road to socialism.

Social-Democrats, for whom a classless and stateless society is no more than utopia, and cannot be attained, at least not within modern industrial society. Socialism is no more and no less sacred an objective than is the preservation of individual liberties. The supervision of social development will be exercised within a pluralist, democratic frame, within which there cannot be a nationalisation of the means of production in their entirety -- because this calls for the imposition of dictatorship, a stage that the social democrats have no wish to reach. Their programme is therefore based on reforming the structure of society as it now exists. These reforms will guarantee the extension of the public domain, the closing of socio-economic gaps, the increased security of the individual in times of need, and equal opportunity in every aspect of education and personal advancement.

Socialist Streams Spawned by the New Left. Though the movements, organisations and parties that are classified as "New Left" are not identical, and indeed there often are many small

groups within a given country, it is possible (with all the essential reservations) to describe the central ideas of these groups in general terms: their criticism of society and of the capitalist system is harsh and total, and encompasses the "capitalist democracy" as it is now practised in the Western countries. "True democracy", in which each individual will attain freedom, and in which society as a whole will attain a freedom based in that of the individual, can only be possible within an egalitarian society. Equality in capitalist society is formal rather than meaningful and, therefore, does not guarantee the individual any influence over the course of affairs or over state decisions. These schools of thought preclude centralisation in any form, including centralistic parties or dictatorship of any kind. Socialist revolution is not solely political. From this follows a great many conclusions about the route to socialism and about socialism itself. Social democracy is a direct democracy, in which the masses must directly rule enterprises, neighbourhoods and their institutions. It is these popular organisations and movements that, in company with the socialist organisations, will carry out the socialist revolution. This implies meaningful changes in the lives and environment of people -- and not only in the techniques of government and economy.

A fundamental difference between these groups, derives from their participation or non-participation in the accepted party political game. Those who do take part adopt a political pragmatism, and attempt to adapt utopian ideas to daily political activity. The "anti-establishment" groups, which, as they put it, "operate directly" among the people, demonstrate a loyalty to well-defined ideas and examples -- and on occasion use violent means.

There is no doubt that the "New Left" movements have their origins in the intellectual and political activities of young people who negated and rejected the social ideologies based on motivating increased private consumption, profit and economic development. They aspire to change the motivation of social

activity, thereby revealing the "human" meaning behind human activity.

Many groups have come and gone, yet the influence of the New Left is felt, in all its many shadings, in Europe and elsewhere. They have affected the socio-political climate, have formed factions in the Communist and Socialist Parties of West-Germany and the Scandinavian countries, and have changed the behaviour and tactics of parties in Italy and France. The Socialist Parties of France, Portugal, and Spain were restructured under the influence of the New Left, and some ideological innovation and increased activity in the socialist movements can be directly credited to them.¹⁵

The idea of "total" revolution as opposed to political-economic revolution is not new, yet prior to the appearance of the New Left it was the province of very few thinkers and very small groups among the population.

"A spirit of togetherness cannot exist where there is no company. This spirit prevails where the company struggles to complete the reality of its own togetherness -- a struggle which will determine the future. Political achievements are at most auxiliary aids to the act of changing foundations. No route can lead to any objective other than what it deserves. Company cannot be found except where togetherness happens."

Elsewhere, Buber wrote:

"One cannot establish the new by grabbing from a certain country its autocratic constitution and clapping on a communist constitution, while life between man and his fellowman remains as it was.....Relations between men need a revolution for there to be a true revolution of society." ¹⁶

"Socialism" is used to encompass socialist democracy, socialist law, socialist morality, socialist consciousness, socialist culture, etc. Accordingly, a change in the direction of socialism must include various types of institutional and political activity as a possible "nucleus" for a new organisation of life. It is to be assumed that such a process of "total" change will be a long drawn-out affair involving elements such as a high

level of services, a rise in the educational standard of the population, the existence of various autonomous bodies to represent the interests of different groups in the population. All these elements are "new" in society and making their debut on the stage of history. They are typical only of a limited number of developed countries. From this it may be concluded that the creation of a socialist regime that contains these characteristics, is one that demands a very long period of changes.¹⁷

Following the Marxist tradition, some people contend that the capitalist regime creates elements of growth, development and progress, but that once these elements reach an optimal stage they become the forces of destruction.

The clarion call to socialism, therefore, changes. In place of "the liberation of the productive forces from the restraints of the capitalist asset system", those who battle for socialism are called on to

"gain control over the undirected and unrestrained growth of forces motivated by profit, thereby controlling the destructive results of that growth. This call, in all the forms of the socialist idea that are known in the West, attempts to integrate into a synthesis individual and social values, and thereby those ideas to a degree, approach non-socialist democratic political sectors, of which many are known in the West."¹⁸

Socialism is "the idea of another society which will guarantee each of its members the possibility of creating in the freest possible manner without this implying the control by one group of a second groups."¹⁹

Contrary to the neo-Stalinist approaches (nationalisation of the means of production, dictatorship by the proletariat, etc.) it is important to note that the socialists discussed in the present work can see no principle more vital than the "humanisation" of society. A society's degree of socialisation is the degree to which it is capable of supplying its members with the best opportunities for developing the creativity of each

and every individual.²⁰

This view of socialism infers, and requires, that a degree of consensus between people will appear once the society split by classes is at an end. This consensus must be founded on some common view of society. Alongside the assumption of (and demand for) consensus between human beings, these socialists must assume that the attained consensus will desire the maximum of creativity (independence!) of human beings.²¹

Socialism implies a movement in the direction of a social order based on cooperation. A cooperative society which has solidarity and is democratic, for socialism, is democracy incarnate, in that the regime rebuffs any damage to the independence of the individual. A regime based on cooperation between people is the only one that can guarantee the preservation of an individual's rights, which are virtually unpreservable when competition prevails between people.²² If we succeed in building such a society, then we will have created a situation of equality of opportunity to achieve economic resources, source of know-how and information, political power -- and all this with the minimum possible control by man or group over other men.²³

Grandiose, bold ideas! The present writer does not doubt that many readers of the above quotes will repeatedly emphasize the emotional, irrational aspect of the conception. However, I shall not discuss at this stage, the rationality of irrationality of a social utopia -- but shall simply state that these ideas, as they are presented above, are not a "social theory". All this falls in the nebulous zone between utopia and ideology. And here Gilles Martinet comes to our aid:

"The purpose of theory is knowledge. The purpose of ideology is the creation of conditions for thought that are capable of bringing about activity or, at least, of allowing activity (by its direction towards a certain objective). Large collective movements are inconceivable without emotional motives, without moral commandments, without myths, in short--without ideology."²⁴

If moral commandments and myths are now in the picture, then

we can return to the words of Buber:

"Socialism means true partnership between human beings, a direct living relationship between 'I' and 'thou'. True company. True societies. It is therefore, necessary that we should have true communal autonomy, as far reaching as possible according to the legitimate demands of the community."

According to Buber, one must differentiate absolutely between community of interest, which can exist in the frame of society, and community of life, which results in true companionship.

"Associated life" is intended to imply a real life -- not something spiritual, but something that belongs to each day, each hour -- in that people overcome the burden of the contradictions in production,

"for in the form of work, a life of partnership and life contacts between human beings, have still not been built. Even if organised social institutions will function regularly, they will protect society as they today protect capital. This whole mechanism, wonderously coordinated, will not build true company. Without revolution, there will be no company, and institutions alone do not have the power to convert unqualified people into a company of qualified people." ²⁵

Who then will make the revolution? How will people be ready to change their present mode of life, and to live the mode of tomorrow, if they are not trained for it? If the old-type man cannot do it, how then will society arrive at the "new man"? How can a man be made ready for a life of true partnership -- true socialism -- when the entire society functions in a frame of individualistic competition and achievement orientation? Gajo Petrovic, professor of philosophy at Zagreb University, attempts to respond to this:

"The revolution, as we see it, will only be possible by means of actions through which man will change the society within which he lives, and simultaneously change himself..... The important thing is to think of ways to overcome alienation, the alienation which in the present day world attacks to some degree the individual and human society....." ²⁶

and, if we return to Buber, "the collectivity based on the organised tools of personality." ²⁷

In any event, there is no doubt that many of the socialist demands (e.g., more equality, direction of human needs with an emphasis on collective objectives) will be received only if there is a "mutation" in the accepted definitions of "the good life": lower levels of consumption, and more thought concerning communities that are better adapted to satisfy man in environmental care, cultural development, scientific achievement, and so on.²⁸

Obviously such a change cannot be imagined without changes in the existing structures of society. It is possible to reconstruct the administrative systems and decision making processes of the modern industrial society in such a form that any community will be able to direct its life, and the partnership between communities be preserved?

"We may not be able to return to our past, to a stage before the existence of mechanised society, but we can pass beyond it to a new organism. We cannot return ancient growth, but we are able to pave a way for a new social image containing the foundation from which this growth comes, and ²⁹return to a revival of preconsidered action....."

Thus -- a new organinity, a society in which every individual has opportunity to produce freely, without exploitation, and in which the organisation of society will be constructed on a foundation of collectivity that guarantees the freedom of the individual and his control over the systems of social life. "Socialism is, therefore, a form of social organisation that grants to every man the greatest possible control over his life, and the greatest possible responsibility for his own creation."³⁰ That is the socialism of "self-management" by each individual of his life and his society.

S E L F - M A N A G E M E N T

The traditional expressions of socialist thought are outdated; this obsolescence evidences itself in a historic fact: the backwardness of socialists in adapting their formulae to the changes of the modern world. The socialist conception must learn in greater depth the foundations and components of the modern industrial society and learn it without changing its own fundamental moral foundations.³¹

It is conceivable that, if the problems that society poses for its members have changed, the strategy of dealing with those problems -- that are intensifying in the new society -- must also change. From Marx through to the 1930's, the central factor in creating dissatisfaction for many people was the recurrence of crises in capitalist societies. Industrial development, increased production of the "means of production" and increased production of consumer goods, had causes cyclic unemployment, a decrease in the income levels of the masses, and lack of confidence in the ability of regimes to guarantee a fair and stable existence to their citizens. In parallel, colonialist empires had developed, and there were serious conflicts between many countries as a result of their struggles for control over raw materials, markets and places in which to expand their capital investments. Two world wars seemed to many to be a direct result of an economic system based in the maximization of profit. The socialist and communist movements turned directly and primarily to the class of industrial workers, with the declared objective of promising stable economic development, full and constant employment, social security within the reach of all, and economic planning that would guarantee control over the processes of the economy.

These problems of capitalist societies have not disappeared, and they still trouble many strata of the population. Yet, since World War II, they have been greatly reduced in many

countries. The American "New Deal", and the social democracies in Sweden and Germany have proven that they can, to some extent, control the more violent crises; and that economic development can function in the frame of balance (détente) between the powers -- which has so far controlled the spectre of war and violent competition between the developed countries. Social security has been greatly expanded in many countries. A consequence has been the de-radicalisation of the classical socialist movements in many Western countries -- a de-radicalisation that has shown itself both in their actions and their ideologies. Social democrats such as the Scandinavians have concentrated less on nationalisation and more on guaranteeing employment, expanding social services and reducing the gap in income distribution. The trend to de-radicalisation is even to be seen in the large communist parties of countries such as France and Italy, whose leaders repeatedly promise to preserve the "rules of the democratic game" after they come to power.

In the 1960's it was clear that, even if the motives for mass dissatisfaction had not vanished, the emphasis had transferred to other causes of distress. During those years, masses of young intellectuals in the United States wages a fight against the Vietnam War, in the course of which protests were voiced against the "industrial war complex" which had led the country to war. The conflict between East and West threatens mankind with its destructive power, and the desire to secure world peace made allies of pacifist radicals and anti-capitalists.

The "socio-cultural revolution" was at the heart of extremely sharp clashes which took place in Western Europe during this period. Here again it was young people and intellectuals protesting a society that pushed people to wasteful consumption without "human" purpose. Competitive society creates partitions in the relations between persons, and the communications-media create an emptiness of cultural creativity. "Alienation", "loneliness" and the yearning to return to more human and intimate communities have served as the basis for (often violent) attacks on any form of "establishment control".

The all-powerful capitalist national establishment is the force interested in, and succeeding at, steering society in the directions that it deems fit.

The classic "war of the classes" is being renewed following the inflation, unemployment and the creation of marginal "social areas" of abject poverty, that engulfs the west. The recipients of "fixed salaries", small savers and people living on grants and pensions suffer a great deal from the inflationary process. The system is hardest on those closest to despair.

Economic development is beginning to show signs of having reached its limits, this is particularly emphasized by the growing awareness of ecological problems -- of the poisoning of the environment in which humans must live. The big cities are choking and creaking to a stop -- primarily because of the vast increase in automotive transport. Energy sources are becoming problematic, and it is now clear to all that these are not limitless. The consequence of all this is a growing demand for radical change of the system -- for replacement of profit motivation by "social benefit" oriented economic activity. The latter would function under a socialist regime that could, in the opinion of the critics, direct economic development in a rational manner.³²

Activity is increasing in the socialist parties and movements; their demands and slogans are adjusting to the new distresses. There is a strong emphasis on community and collective values that will replace "automation" and competition that derive from profit orientation. There is emphasis on the distress of the individual -- on his ability to control the processes of his life and the extensive general systems that do him so much hurt. These individual quandaries will be solved only by deep and general amendment of society-wide systems -- a new style of criticism of capitalism, new (or renewed) proposals for a transition to the regime that they want, to socialism.

The various socialist movements are, therefore, adapting them-

between the reduction, restraint and even elimination of oligarchy based on the owners of capital and their bailiffs or on technocracy. The demand for industrial democracy is a clear expression of the workers' aspiration to implement the principles of democracy to their own lives.³⁶

It is important to distinguish between the use of the concept of industrial democracy in the frame of a model of self-management, and the same concept as it relates to the selection of workers' representatives to participate in plant management. Those who propound the system of self-management are referring to direct democracy, as far as it is possible, in the management of economic enterprises. According to this approach, the way to achieve self-management is not through the selection of representatives at periodic intervals, since elected representation alone cannot guarantee the participation of the electors in the decision making process.³⁷

"What is the regime under whose flag the shared economy of mankind will be implemented?"

"They say: the transfer of the means of production from their owners to the public at large; yet, most importantly, what is the meaning of this public at large?"

"Does public mean State (the masses placing its affairs in the hands of a representation)?"

"What is representation?"

"The serious failing of modern society is that it engages in exaggerated representation."

"In the socialist society, economic representation will be added to political; then there will prevail almost unlimited authoritative representation, and thereby will accumulate almost unlimited centralised power of control."

"Permanent representation of common interests results in the development of "community" life. Community materialises from the common treatment, active in the common cause, and cannot exist without it." ³⁸

Thus, it is possible to define socialism on the basis of the principle of self-management -- the activation of direct democracy. "I propose the following definition: the socialist property relationships are production relationships such that direct control will not be achieved by one or other individual, no matter what measures may be adopted to achieve that control. Every worker will directly control his own labour." ³⁹

"Control and the individuum touch on each other, intertwine absolutely, and no barrier exists between them." ⁴⁰ That is the expression and realisation of a moral commandment. Each man will rule the processes of his own life and labour -- a rule that will merge with the system of individual liberties of the workers in a collective frame. Morality and mutuality will find no soil for growth other than in the frame of self-management. This is the only technique that permits a resolution of the problem of controlling power of man vis à vis his fellow. ⁴¹

The activation of the self-management system in modern industry is suited, according to Harrington's view, to the era of automation. This is a double solution -- both for the adjustment of production to the processes of management appropriate to automation, and to the achievement of improvement of the worker's feeling about his work. "The wheels of technical progress are not to be turned back. There is to be no fight against the rationalisation of economy, but a fight for the humanisation of desire." ⁴²

Problems of man's relationships within the production process occupy a central place in the socialist criticisms of the capitalist production system. In the view of socialist critics, this system is constructed in general in order to locate man as a means in the attainment of economic purposes. The principle of maximisation of profit, that governs the capitalist production system is, in the main, directed to maximum achievement of profits in the shortest possible time spans. Achievement in capitalist production terminology implies short term -- and hence there must be a maximal degree of control over man. Each and every individual is candidate for manipulation by the capitalist enterprise, in order to fit him to the needs of the enterprise. Man is viewed in terms of his function within the production system, as a producer during his working hours, and a consumer during his leisure time. The complexity of modern society hampers this manipulation, and so the production (and consumption) mechanisms recruit science in general, and the

human behavioral sciences in particular, to the benefit of its interests. It is no coincidence that the behavioral sciences seek an "objective dimension", aspire to a "realism" based on a methodology of "causality" and "quantification" -- for these are the result of the scientific community being "recruited" by capitalist production.

It is easy to discern (in the opinion of these socialist critics) this behavioral science treatment of human problems "in a managerial perspective".

The results, in the life of the individual, are extremely destructive. Man undergoes managerial "treatment" which tends to produce excessive conformity.

"How do I adapt myself to the tough demands of life?"

"How do I adapt my aspirations and dreams to an environment that I am incapable of changing, and that I cannot even influence?"

"How am I to behave so that people will want me?"

These, and many others like them, are the questions that trouble the citizen of modern industrial society; it is a new form of "false consciousness".⁴³

The socialists speak of a "new working class", intending to note that the ideas of the worker in industrial society have changed together with social, economic and technological changes. The revolutionary demands of the "new worker" are directed to the achievement of considerably different targets than those of the worker who lived in the previous century. In this context we shall present two statements in evidence.

Serge Mallet argues that the new working class is not revolutionary in that it wants to destroy the existing production mechanism. Its "revolutionarism" is expressed in its demands for changes in the work process -- changes that will decisively influence human relations, both within and outside the enterprise. It is known that in many enterprises, workers have presented demands beyond the accepted one for increased pay -- significant demands relating to economic and production

management in general.⁴⁴

Alain Touraine contends that a decline in the importance of the capital - wage conflict, in its classic form, is evident. On the other hand, he sees a sharpening of the workers' struggle against the new forms of control. This struggle is being waged in deadly earnest between the holders of key positions in the politico-economic decision-making system, and those who participate in these systems only in a subordinate role.⁴⁵

There is no doubt that the various subjects connected with participation and involvement of workers in production and decision-making in their enterprises, are not the specific area of interest of the socialist movements. Large capitalist corporations, respectable scientific communities, politicians, and people from all levels of the population, irrespective of party affiliation, are dabbling in the relationship between worker and his enterprise. Maria Hirszovics estimates that the growing interest in this subject is not coincidental. Its roots are in the appearance and development of "organisational societies" of complex structure, in which, due to the gigantic size the mutual relationship between management and labour, the transfer of information and the "feed-back" mechanism of control have become a central problem. Whether these enterprises be capitalist or socialist in terms of their self-definition, the prominent aspect in their operation is the formation of a new balance between "decision makers and decision takers, the ruled and the rulers, the elites and the masses, the planners and those that subject to their planning, the administrators and administered, and so on."

The debate concerning industrial democracy is augmented by many experiments that are going on in Sweden, West Germany, Yugoslavia, France, Portugal and elsewhere, in which "socio-technique" develops as an integration between the psycho-sociological scientific level and the practical level (in the United States an entire stream of thought is developing for

scientific and empirical involvement in "socio-technique"). Among the various conflicting standpoints on the subject, there is growing consensus about worker participation in the decision-making processes at the "base" of the production process (shop floor participation). The argument divides and sharpens where the difficulties in implementation of "self-management" increase -- at the higher and more central levels of management. Even with the principle of "a maximum of self-management" before us, it is in practice difficult to meet -- without historical experience to aid us -- the conflicts of modern industrial management. The possibility of conceiving the industrial labourer, as he now is in terms of education, talent and motivation, in this position of manager, is difficult to imagine. The man whose job it is to manage a large organisation must be endowed with certain qualifications that are not to be found in the "average man", including both auxiliary education such as languages, mathematics and statistics, managerial techniques such as decision-making models, social (or industrial) psychology, economics and, of course, the specific discipline in which the enterprise is engaged.

The plant manager will receive a flow of information on the course of production, including current description of the general scene and analysis of specifics by the appropriate experts. This data must be absorbed, then weeded out to serve as background appropriate to operative decision-making. Clearly, management as it appears in that description is a matter of expertise, and transforms the idea of worker participation into something almost completely impossible to implement (or "utopian" as many call it). To this criticism the proponents of self-management and industrial democracy respond that one could conceive a decision-making mechanism, in which it will be possible to separate between technical, professional, personnel and other aspects, and --by means of creation of a flexible decision system -- to transfer the appropriate decision to a forum composed according to the type and quality of decision required. Steps in this direction might perhaps not

prevent the creation of decision-making elites, but could at least create a situation of pluralism of institutions and opinions -- while possibly avoiding a pluralism of elites.

The practical demands accepted today in the sphere of management (industrial democracy) are varied and adapted to the traditions of the country, the specific nature of the enterprise, the educational level of the workers, their political involvement, and so on. It is possible to select a number of demands that are repeated in one form or another in different countries, and various enterprises: rotation in key positions, election at all levels -- direct and secret in big units, open in small ones. In certain countries, the principle of pluralism in decision-making incorporates a demand for the participation of elements external to the enterprise, such as trade unions, professional consultants' offices, etc. In every case, emphasis is placed on the demand for the greatest possible autonomy of the production units. The importance of "public supervision" is noted for every level, and especially for the "power centres".

The formula of self-management becomes an attempt to restrain, split up and supervise the power concentrations in the managerial system. The dullness of the principles, and of the practical demands, is to a certain extent the result of the fact that self-management, socio-technique, and industrial democracy in the "new" context, have not yet been applied in many places, or for prolonged periods. There can be no alternative other than learning from experience.⁴⁶ "The consequences and effects of industrialisation in the public and private spheres have several points of contact and operate on several different levels: the loss of, and at the same time, the quest for autonomy, inner direction, spontaneity and individuality of the individual."⁴⁷

The principle of self-management indeed finds itself to a great extent linked with the operation of modern industry, yet it is a mistake to believe that this is its place. In the

opinion of Chenèvenemen, it is no coincidence that industry has become an "ideal place" for debate and experiment in self-management -- a fact that derives from the reality of the capitalist division of labour that prevails both in capitalist and in bureaucratically managed industry. In such industries, the exploitation and suppression of the workers should be viewed, not only in the perspective of their lack of capital, but no less in that they lack know-how and information, with the result that they also lack influence and the power of decision.

"Capitalism needs "split", "partial" people lacking in full contact between them, unfitted for management in the places where they work. The deepening of division of labour that characterises modern industry means a deepening of alienation and of the exploitation of the working masses. Conversely, the success of the division of labour means the success of capitalism. The large capitalist plant does not only manufacture goods; it also manufactures people, and they are the victim of a growing inequality, both material and cultural." ⁴⁸

Maria Hirszovics adds:

"I reject the claim that industrial democracy is the main issue of democratic reform and emphasize that it is but a part of the system of democratic participation. It is by concentrating on the system and not on one or other aspect of it that we can make a decisive step in clarifying a programme for the future." ⁴⁹

The development of "self-management" in both its theoretical and practical aspects, is shaping up more and more in the sphere of production. In the opinion of socialists involved in the field, the capitalist reality is realised more blatantly in industrial enterprise, but it is in no way limited to production. Society at large suffers from distresses linked with the division of labour, the distribution of know-how and information, managerial democracy, "alienation" and "suppression". The absence of a solution for the problem of man in the industrial work system implies an inability to gain release from the distresses of modern society as a whole. The converse is also true -- without far-reaching change in the direction of "socialist democracy" in all aspects of society

(including pedagogical, psychological, ideological and other aspects), the principle of self-management will not be realised in the frame of the industrial plant. This is the principle of "totality" that attempts to solve a distress which is also total. "L'autogestion en effet, sera globale ou ne sera pas."50

It is worth adding Buber's comments on the subject:

"One movement seeks to gain control over the state, and to erect new institutions in place of the existing institutions, and is convinced that it will thereby fundamentally change human relations.

"It is only by a change in the imagery of real life between people that a real change can be achieved. The real life between man and his fellows does not take place within the abstract state, but instead, in company, in the rural and urban communities, in work and factory, in the company of equals and in religious union.

"....The degree of socialism that it is possible to achieve is actually the degree of communal autonomy that can be realised. Centralistic socialism isn't socialism. A socialism in which the regime's links have changed to the benefit of the worker, yet in which there has been no change in men's relations with each other, is not socialism. For the sickness of humanity today is not only the relationship between worker and employer, but in the deterioration of human relations in general.

"The centralist representation will not be composed, as in our days, of supposed leaders of formless masses of electors, but rather of the labour-experienced leaders of the cooperative economies. Those represented will be linked to their representatives, not like today by disembodied abstraction, by the phraseology of party platforms -- but by a very real joint action and common experience. Men must take as much care of their communities as of their love and friendships. New communities must be built just as a man builds his house.

"They must recognise that this tiny and modest creation is of no lower level than the large and powerful state, and can become of a higher level than it -- and that direct participation in the community meeting requires no less weighty consideration than does participation in any parliament.

"It is unimportant whether it be moshav (a cooperative smallholding) or kibbutz (a commune); there are, and

will be, men who find their socialist satisfaction in one form, and there are men who find theirs in the other. The decisive thing is the question of centralisation and decentralisation. Accordingly, our demand for social self-determination is of pioneering importance for humanity....." 51

S O C I A L M A N A N D H U M A N S O C I E T Y

"Le socialisme ne serait rien s'il n'était d'abord un genre de vie épanouissant l'individu en tant qu'être social." 52

Man is a social being. The tradition of the concept of "alienation" is closely linked with the idea of the completeness of man. Alienated man is divided, lacking "comprehensiveness" in two aspects:

- a. the "comprehensive" or "total" man by the definition given above is a "social being". His totality is expressed in that his relations with other people are "comprehensive", seen in the frame of the "totality" of social relations.
- b. man is an individual and society is a totality of which the individuals form a part. On the other hand, man is a totality in himself, and society is one of the components in his being. This mutuality of society in man and man in society forms "completeness", one which expresses the "totality" of man-societal relations.

Let me clarify briefly, two concepts that I used here. When I speak about "man", I mean social man. I mean that man cannot live a human life by himself, no man is an island. To produce his own life, man must interact with others. This interaction implies communication (language), which further implies intersubjectivity. In saying this we are really saying that man's activities and thoughts are social.

My use of the concept "totality" is based on the discussion of J. Israel. There are two possible interpretations of this concept in the Marxist tradition. It can be used to speak about man as an ideal-type, an "ideal totality". In this sense man is seen as a being endowed with potentialities which can become realised as "society and its productive forces develop". In the second sense, which is of course, related to the first, "totality" makes reference to an individual's chances for manifesting his potentialities in a given set of social condit-

ions. These two meanings of totality are related to one another in the sense of universal and particular. The "ideal" or universal character of man exists only in and through its particular manifestations, i.e., man in concrete historical setting. But the reversal is also true, particular man exists always as related to his universal characteristics, his "species" being.

Such an approach tends to be sharply critical of the developments in modern industrial society. The "good" is the "complete". Any "divided", "partial" or "functional" activity is "alienated" and, therefore negative, which causes suffering to human beings.

In industrial society as it is known today, particularly in the economically developed world, the division of labour is growing in parallel with the deepening processes of urbanisation, and the creation of ever-bigger cities. These developments "destroy" man's completeness as conceived in the formulation above. The relationships between people become increasingly partial as professionalism and the division of labour expand. The interaction between individuals becomes more fragmented.

Urban man is dependent on a growing number of people in order to attain his minimal needs. As a result, he establishes "partial" ties with a great many people, organisations and institutions -- this is not the human dependence of man on man. Each needs the other only in terms of the function that he fulfills in society. It is virtually a dependence between man and institution. From this stems the definition accepted among modern American socialists, who speak of "mediated" relations between men.

These intermediary organisations and institutions mediate between men despite their being "human creation" -- ones that appear as "independent" entities: town hall, government, police, courts, etc. According to this approach, man is isolated in his daily life -- not because he is not a "social creature". On the contrary, "sociability is his being", but he is not dependent on other people as much as on "people

fulfilling the functions of institutions" (or conversely, institutions fulfilling human functions). Something happened, or is happening in society to transform the person - person relationship into a person - institution relationship.

I tried in my earlier work to emphasize that Rousseau was one of the first thinkers who saw the correlation between division of labour and the blocking of the way to "organicity" and "completeness" of society and the man that lives in it. "There are among us doctors, geometrists, chemists, astronomers, poets, musicians and painters, but we have no citizens." ⁵³

Marx develops Rousseau's thinking in his view of the incompleteness of society and of man's personality. He parallels the formation of the competitive and achievement oriented society with the appearance on the stage of history of the capitalist conflicts. The power of decision is being concentrated in the hands of few; the many are becoming alienated -- left out of the decision-making systems, of social responsibility. Their status becomes inferior. They feel less at home in society. Their ability to influence social processes declines, and their objective and subjective loneliness increases. ⁵⁴

Through his labour and actions, man creates and shapes his life, shapes mankind, shapes society. From this it follows that man's real activity, and his relations with other people in the frame of his activities, are central to historical analysis of society. Action and mind are social in content and origin. The changes in society and in man himself are directed by praxis. Subject - object and man - societal relations are epistemologically based on praxis. ⁵⁵

Putting the matter this way, in the tradition of Hegel and Marx, one can argue that man's dividedness or completeness, his isolation or sociability, taken together form his activity, and together give birth to society and to man himself.

At this stage we can enrich our analysis by returning to Buber:

"Capitalism created social automation. Capital does not like to see before it anything but individuals.... People are not subject to direct togetherness, are no longer limited to natural congregation.

"In natural gathering man is within a mutual relationship that is secure and so self-explanatory that he can remove himself into a positive isolation with no worries.....In Western civilisation people feel negative isolation, absolute isolation. That which believers call "godlessness"." 56

Thus capitalist society creates isolated man, alienated from society and from himself as a "social being". Man, suffering from loneliness and looking around at his social environment, accepts the society that causes the automation of man as "natural" datum, when in fact it is his social nature that serves as source for his being a part of the "natural gathering".

"And they said: but all that is gone for ever. The modern city has no time for give and take, and can leave that to its representatives. The very coercive power of quantity and of organisational form destroys any real possibility of togetherness. Labour links a man to different people from those with whom leisure time is likely to link him, and sport ties him to different people than politics; time and soul are divided indiscriminately."57

A large gathering of people is not company unless it is composed of small and live groups, of strong cells of direct togetherness, the mutual relations of which are direct and vital as are the relations of the members with each other, and they unite into this gathering in the same direct and vital way that the individual members unite into cells.... The community in all its forms must fill with new reality, a reality of more direct, more pure, more just relationships between man and his fellowman, in order that out of the union of true communities will arise the greater true community that can smile as it looks on the rusty cogwheels of the system as they drop one by one on the scrap pile..... Above politics that relate to the alien, the distant, the unknown, stands the doing for self, for the close by, and this alone according to its essence is not empty talk, without coordination or permission, but healthy help -- a thing that politics

does not attain except in very rare hours of greatness. It must be recognised that healthy policy cannot arise in the future other than as a selection and result of complete community action.... The cooperative movement is based on man's eternal need to feel his home as a single room in a great all-encompassing building, in which he is at home, and his partners confirm in their meetings with him, in their cooperation with him, his essence and being.⁵⁸

Like Buber, almost all the discussions of alienation in modern society are concentrated around the relationships between people, and this because they assume that the individual finds his identity in his relations with his fellowman.⁵⁹ In alienated society, social forces that are created through the labour and creativity of individuals, through the cooperation of collectives, become the property, the assets of certain individuals in society. In this process, and as part of it, human behaviour becomes alien, functional and materialistic.⁶⁰ "We are one thing to one man and another to another."

A real human drama. Man's self identification crumbles, and he finds it difficult to answer the eternal question of "authenticity". His various activities take on functional form to the extent that the completeness of his personality divides. "The drama of self-identity represents not only the most radical transformation undergone by the genre so far, but also the most genuine expression of the dramatic condition of contemporary man."⁶¹

Man must adapt to the severe demands of the industrial society and he pays a heavy price in his own personality. In converting himself to a pawn in the social rules of the game, he isolates himself and, in that isolation, he finds nothing but himself as society sees him. That is the "easy-going" man who fulfills his social function which removes him from himself. Conformity is the price that the individual pays for the individualism that rules social values. This society worships the individualist who is to be found outside any group. Thus the

"lone wolf" has become the hero of American history, and serves as a model to masses of people in other countries.⁶²

Even when man's activity takes place in the group frame, the purpose of this activity turns the common objective into something external. For the individual, the group and its actions lose their significance in that they are means to achieve other ends. Within the process, the activity of each individual in the group loses its personal significance. Thus, man's authentic creativity, and that of his human social frame, gives way to purposeful, alienated activity, and the human contact and common creativity are no longer an objective in themselves, but become functional and ever further way from each individual.

The importance of groups is often judged by their achievements rather than by their intentions. The happenings inside the groups are guided by efficiency of its actions. The problem is that objectives are attainable only through absolute obedience. Mission oriented emphasis sometimes assumes that attainment will weaken the impetus -- that upon reaching an oasis, man can no longer be expected to invest effort in irrigating the desert...⁶³

Therefore, man is called on to conform, to adjust his individual needs to the external needs that have shaped up somewhere in society. The capitalist aspiration is for an ideal situation of society wherein man wants to do what he must do. Why should we not think in diametrically opposite terms? Why not expand the scope of free choice, giving a wider scope for individual initiative and non-conformism?

In present capitalist society there is a manipulation of human behaviour by changes in the structure of external pressure that society brings to bear on the personality of the individual. Why shouldn't we think of another possibility -- of manipulation of the social environment of man to widen the scope of know-how and information in the consciousness of people?⁶⁴

Capitalist society uses all the tools at its disposal to social-

ise in the direction of conformity of values and norms. The conformist man, who constantly adjusts himself to the external demands of society, is not formed of himself. He has to be prepared for the functionality according to which he will perform in society. The objective must be to ensure that he is not "too independent". Childish characteristics must be preserved to block maturity. The socialist revolution, the revolution of self-management, must give combat on the educational front to ensure maturity; in other words, independence, a constant demand for freedom, the ability to be critical and non-conformist as far as society is concerned.

"All the data of contemporary society combine in an effort to keep the adult in his childish frame. The family, school, army, the productive organisation, society, the church -- all operate in an authoritarian frame: head of the family, headmaster of the school, commander of the military unit, manager, state and its representatives, policemen and judges....."

"A l'homme-enfant, soumis ou insoumis, du capitalisme, le socialisme autogestionnaire tendra à substituer un homme responsable, capable de libérer toutes ses potentialités et d'être pleinement lui-même." 65

It is important to note that, when one relates to "man" in those debates, one can discern a lack of clarity which derives, inter alia, from the historical tradition of Marxist thought in which the problem remains "open" and sometimes not understandable to the reader who wants a precise understanding.

The Marxist conception of man did not crystallize into theory as clearly as did his views of capitalist society and of historical development. In his many writings, Marx argues against various conceptions of man, and it is only through his critiques of others that something can be learnt of his own view. Two particular and conflicting attitudes were accorded special attention by Marx:

- a. he opposes the view of man in the frame of a permanent or non-historical entity;
- b. he opposes the relativist view that sees man's characteristics as a reflection of social conditions.

In disputing these two approaches without proposing a coherent alternative, an opening is left for many and varies interpretations, and thus in this context the "Marxist tradition" is multivaried in its development.⁶⁶

If the thinkers on whom I have based myself view man in his loneliness, can they by their approach arrive at man's "essence" as a "social being"? And if man has something to be called an "essence", is that not a fundamental non-historic fact?

Does the assumption that man has a nature mean that we are moving in an ahistorical direction? This is not necessarily the case, as there are other possibilities; again discussed in the work of J. Israel. Human nature can mean human "essence" but not necessarily an ahistorical one. Essence can be understood as universal in form but historical in terms of content. This is the same as to distinguish between "essential features" and "forms of appearance". Thus the concept essence, as used here, is not to be seen in the tradition of a metaphysical essentialism. But rather as referring to the universal or essential features of man. Man must produce his life, he must use language and so on, these can be considered universal. Their manifestations however, the particular way man works, the tools he uses, the specific language he uses, are historical. Saying this, we can now say without contradicting ourselves that the totality of historical changes are the "essence" of man, man becoming what he is.

If "man" (whatever that may mean) has adapted to society as a result of a process of socialisation, and has internalised the values of that society, then how can those critics know that these are alien values, external to man? And if we do assume that they are "external", then what is the source of the "internal" values in his "moral being"? If society arouses needs in man, and those are now his needs, how does one discern "true needs"?

"Self knowledge in liberal theory is a relative, unproblematic concept, and within its frame are no suggestions such as that by Marx that there is a delusion of aware-

ness -- that "imagined needs" cover up "true needs". In liberal theory matters are much simpler, much more understandable. A good or bad society is a function of whether people are satisfied with it in its simplest, freest terms.... In practice, there isn't and wasn't any need for a theory of "imagined needs"." 67

One of the possibilities for understanding the above debate in another way, is that of understanding the conflict between "free man" and "alienated man" in the frame of various historical stages in which man appears differently. The different appearances of man derives from society being different in the various historical stages. It can be said that man was satisfied with himself in stage A, and did have "artificial needs" in stage B. Man in contemporary society can, of course, be compared with man in society as could be in the future. In this case non-alienated man is one of many possible alternatives.

In any event, one aspect of this approach to man is less problematic: the fact that his personality is shaped by society and vice versa, while the two-way process takes form in human activity (praxis). This approach is mainly a formal one; it notes the dialectical link between the individual and society. Yet it does not relate to the content of this link. In any case, there is no room for a separation between the "essence" of man and "man" as shaped in the frame of specific society (capitalist man, etc.).

"The sum of productive energy, capital and forms of social intercourse with which every individual and every generation must come to terms as something given. This is the basis of what philosophers have called the "substance" and "essence of man". In other words, the concept of man must be radically inverted." 68

Clearly, Raddatz' explanation leaves no gap between "essence" and "given" man as he appears in various empirical studies, and no room remains for criticism other than in terms of "ideal man" or "ideal society" -- and both man and society form "a unity both in the given society in the world", and in that they are "ideal".

But a great many problems arise at this point, one of which is the "one-dimensional" aspect. If society does possess certain structures and it shapes man within them (his structure conforming to his society), then it is important to understand why there are different types of people from almost every possible viewpoint, or does man really become one-dimensional -- as Marcuse would have it. Among the socialists who harbour the self-management approach, it is possible to find an emphasised pluralism of social organisation within socialist society. The link between the various types is formalistic; i.e., this is the opportunity offered to people, and by the pluralist society, to freely shape their lives (their society). Thus it is conceivable, at least within an ideal society, to have people with individual needs finding their satisfaction in various social forms. Again to return to Buber:

"The future society, the good society, will not be doctrinaire. Within its frame there will be real freedom while adjusting the various creations to the special social and spiritual needs. Thus there will be a diffusion of forms and their linkage that will be based on the autonomous desires and needs of individuals. There will be a mutual adjustment between various types of man and various types of society. Each will find his place in a "certain settlement form"." 69

THE OVERCOMING OF ALIENATION

I tried in the concluding chapter of the first part of my research to show that the Marxist "model" for overcoming alienation must be viewed as a "vantage point", but not as a plan of action. This vantage point for viewing alienation, and the possibilities for overcoming it, serve us for three inseparable purposes: a critical examination of existing capitalist society, its historic origins (because it is only through them that we will be able to understand the development and constant change of present processes) and the possible future of the historical developments within the frame of society.

The "vantage point" is not a point according to Marx, but a structure -- a system of basic assumptions which have also been taken from "real life". For the moment let us ignore the difficulty of taking assumptions from real life, and assume (so I suggest) that a vantage point is very simply an a-priori moral (and aesthetic) mechanism by which things become more understandable. One may then criticise capitalist society according to that vantage point supplied by a-priori assumptions in an historical examination, which also is made possible through the selection of the relevant historical events. This selection is facilitated by the fact that relevancy is taken to mean the logical relation of these events to that same a-priori system. The "possible future" is not selectable (from among other possibilities), unless we have at our disposal a long series of such forms that can be employed as yardsticks in the selection of one as desirable -- as opposed to others that are deemed less so.

I was happy to find in the book of Mme Audry -- a member of the French Socialist Party leadership -- a confirmation of my approach. She makes an interesting attempt to explain the uniqueness of socialism against a certain moral background. The moral base of socialism is discernable not only in ideology and political declarations, but also in the daily lives of

those who carry the banner of socialism in practice -- the socialist activists. The role of the socialist idea, the objective of socialist activity, is:

"Pour mettre fin à l'immoralité suprême que est justement l'exploitation de l'homme par l'homme.....pour constituer une société morale, c'est à dire au l'homme désaliéné, puisse se trouver lui-même dans se vrais rapports avec la groupe.....ce principe donc, qu'il faut résister à l'oppression, c'est à dire à la unique violation du droit, est le principe même de tente morale, et non pas seulement de la morale sociale ou civique....." 70

In another place, Mme Audry brings out the sources of the "socialist moral system" through which the alienation of the individual in capitalist society is examined, and through which the ways of overcoming alienation can be studied. The basis for the formulation of the socialist ethic lies in Rousseau, his mode of expression being borrowed by Sectogoro Hecantini:

"Agis toujours de telle sorte que la maxime de ton vouloir puisse être érigée ou loi universelle. Agis toujours de telle sorte que du droites la personne humaine, en toi et dans les autres, comme un fin, et jamais comme un simple moyen." 71

There moral principles have recently been prominent in the declarations of the socialist movements. It is also conceivable that they are most inextricably linked with criticism voiced in the West against the moral relativism which characterised the Stalinist period, and the activity of communist parties that hold power in many countries. These moral principles are contained in an approach that emphasises collective, community values which replace the individual attitudes based on individual interest, and the (moral) legitimacy of activity in which maximal profit motivation is central.⁷²

"Demand for revival of the community, the local community, of the labor union, of fellowship, of religious association.

"....Here alone can there be revival in a new image of the internal links of primary partnership: common land, common labour, a common way of life, common faith -- four foundations of linkage that parallel the four

forms of partnership. Not the state but only the community can be the vehicle of cooperative soil (and this does not prevent ownership of the entirety over the land)." 73

It is not easy to consider, or argue in favour of cooperative, community values, when the overall social reality (apart from very small-scale random experiments, such as the kibbutz in Israel or smaller communes in other countries) appears to be driving towards a deepening of individualist values. Supporters of the cooperative ideas as a solution to the problem of the individual and of society in its modern context, must defend themselves against accusations of longing for societies whose time has passed. The relevancy of collectivist ethic must (if it wants to be a part of thinking on technological progress) be based on the developed society as it is shaping up in the West. These values must look forward into the future, to avoid being a conservative nostalgia looking back into history! Daniel Bell explains that it is particularly in the frame of modern technology that a "new moral code" is likely to appear: "Worth will be defined not in terms of a "one best way", not by the slide rule and stop watch...but on the basis of planning and organizing.....Here the team, not the individual worker will assume a new importance..." 74

The overcoming of alienation -- a socialist society managed according to the principles of collectivist freedom -- can be considered on two planes. One, the concept of "society" can relate to a specific society, a certain plant, a specific community. On a second plane and by using that same concept of society in its entirety, one can consider an extensive and complex frame such as a state, continent, or even the whole world. What do they who contend that alienation can be overcome actually mean? A "specific" alienation, or alienation in its entirety?

Adam Schaff, a well-known theoretician in the field of "alienation problems", contends that it is possible to construct a

theoretical social model in which people overcome alienation. But he emphasises that he means a certain alienation of a specific group towards a specific institution -- and not alienation in its entirety, which cannot be overcome since it exists only as a concept.

According to Schaff it is possible to overcome a specific alienation, yet this does not prevent the appearance of another in its place. This being the case, it could be argued that overcoming alienation in general is pointless. To this he replies with an analogy taken from the field of medicine: why bother combating a certain type of flue when you know that, sooner or later, other types of the disease are going to appear.....⁷⁵

Schaff does not explain to us how it can be that alienation in general, and the general overcoming of it, are conceptual -- while a specific alienation and the model for overcoming it are "tangible and real". Even if we accept his proposed analogy with a disease, we shall not overcome the difficulty deriving from the very fact that "disease" is a description of a situation that indicates the absence of health. Both "health" and "disease" are general concepts. As such they are inapplicable to specific situations. The alternative is that there are specific situations of "health" and "disease" and they can be characterised in terms of a given diagnosis. We have a choice to look at disease as something concrete, with a given diagnosis, or as a general concept. Only in the first case can we prescribe medicine or other ways of overcoming the disease. The same holds true for alienation, if it is only a general concept, existing as an idea, nothing can be done to overcome it. If alienation is a real phenomenon then the response must be positive when the question is asked whether alienation can be overcome. In any event we are dealing with the idea of alienation. If there is a "phenomenon" of alienation, then it makes no difference whether we give the phenomenon one name or another; the phenomenon is real, and the overcoming of it will be real.

The question can be discussed in another way by saying that it is impossible to describe a situation lacking in alienation. Man will always be alienated and thus what must be done is to give a specific name to each type of alienation, making it possible to relate to it with greater clarity. The question of whether it can be overcome is relevant. Yet there would be no point in responding to a question of whether one or all forms of alienation can be overcome unless we ask more questions for the sake of clarification. My assessment is that alienation and its overcoming are conceptual, and that these ideas may be used to explain, clarify, and evaluate phenomena. In speaking of overcoming alienation, the reference is to an ideal model in which negative explanation and assessment are replaced by positive ones. It is our awareness that has created the positive and the negative models.

When a question arises as to whether a certain worker can be granted a certain power of decision in his plant, it can be answered in feasible form. If asked whether the alienation of a certain worker in a certain plant can be overcome, I would have difficulty in answering -- even though Schaff wants to convince me that we are talking of a "specific alienation". The capability to decide can to some extent be measured, described, and assessed with tools borrowed from modern social science -- but I know of no successful way to measure "specific alienation". We will always return to a specific question that is likely to be covered up by the idea of alienation. However, even if we have solved the specific problem, and it is possible to reply in the affirmative to the question on that same phenomenon, we still cannot say that we have thereby solved the entire problem of "capability of decision". Moreover, "capability of decision" is a concept that can be related nowadays to a certain social phenomenon. Alienation includes the problem of decision capability, but not only this problem. It follows that even if we use the concept of "alienation" in a limited context, we shall not be able to say that we have overcome it -- unless we have solved all the problems that it comprises. Furthermore, as I noted at the beginning

of this chapter, alienation is that kind of concept which encompasses, inter alia, evaluation, the taking of a position and judgement. Thus, it matters little whether we call it "specific" or "general"; the idea of alienation will allow us to evaluate a certain or general phenomenon, but in any event we will not be able to overcome the evaluation, but only not use it, reject it.

The idea of alienation, like many other ideas, acquires an objective dimension in that it is a component of the real activity of people in the same way that ideology is "real" if people "use" it in their activity. There is no point in moving to a positivist stage, or in stating that alienation has its phenomenon in the real world in order to strengthen our evaluation of the importance of the concept. Schaff, and many other like him, try to "rescue" the concept of alienation by the declaration that a "specific alienation" has a "specific phenomenon" in the real arena. The "specific alienation" is itself real within the "social experience" of which the awareness of it forms a part. I do not detract from the value of the concept of socialism if I say that it is an ideal conception, appearing in order to allow description and evaluation of certain social phenomena and structures in place of the description and evaluation of a certain society which we call capitalism. Petrovic, the Yugoslav scientist, asks when the socialist revolution will be complete, and he answers: when alienation is eliminated, when man is aware of his sociability and when society as a whole is aware of its "humanism". When will this happy moment arrive? Luckily, Petrovic replies, never! If overcoming alienation means realising man's free creativity, then the implication of having this process completed is the negation and elimination of man's creativity. If it is true that man will always develop his ability, and creativity, then the socialist revolution, the overcoming of alienation, is a process that will never end; the revolutionary process will continue as long as man continues to develop his creativity, and if this development is endless -- then so is the revolution.⁷⁶

If so, then the reference to the realisation of socialism, is one which can itself never be attained. This contention is also explained by the dictum that socialism is a concept which includes evaluation components that will always serve as yardsticks, and, as such, can never be realised. One can only conceive of a situation in which these yardsticks are irrelevant, and then there will be no point to use them.

From this point of view there is an additional difficulty. It is possible to try an examination in the frame of static analysis, by posing a model in which we describe the state of affairs which are called "capitalism" and "alienation". Alongside it, we construct a model of a state of affairs different from the former, and we call it "socialism" or a society of self-management. Alternatively, we try with the aid of tools borrowed from structuralist method to build one model, in which a certain changing structure appears. In this case, we will make use of an a-priori yardstick to assess these changes while saying that they are in transition from capitalism (alienation) to socialism (a society of self-management). If we impose on this structural model a time dimension -- present, past, and future -- we shall be able to note that our reference is to a yardstick of "historical perspective". Chevènement, the French socialist, analyses the relations of transition between capitalism and socialism in this fashion: socialism will not be built in one day. If we speak of capitalism, and mean by that a complex of economic, social, political, moral and behavioural structures, we will have to note that -- if socialism implies a significant change in all these structures -- then a long and winding historic road lies before us. From that viewpoint, the future and present (and also the past....) together, comprise the entire historical process that is being examined and assessed by an a-priori system. With the help of this system we have called a certain society, a certain way of behaviour or thought capitalism or alienation, and certain other structures and values socialism or self-management.

"Le propre du socialisme autogestionnaire est d'inscrire le futur dans le présent, de lier indissociablement

l'action quotidienne et la perspective historique.
Le fin est dans moyens comme l'arbre ets dans le
semence." 77

A great and complex moral, social and political problem arises in the frame of the "historic perspective" from the viewpoint of people living in the present. For the sake of future, of great ideas or ideals, people are asked to make sacrifices in their material lives, and sometimes even to give up their lives. The productivist socialist attitude, which characterised countries that are called socialist, demanded a very high price of people "for the sake of the future". Decidedly eschatological ideology spoke of today's sacrifice which will allow "coming generations" to live happily.

The historic perspective has on occasion taken on "scientific" garbs in order to "prove" that there is no alternative -- this is a "historic commandment" that people must accept in good spirit. If there is a correlation between alienation and purposefulness (as we have tried to show in the first stage of our work), then leadership that sees itself in historical terms (as obliged to report its achievements to "history" -- and not only to men living in the limited frame of the present) acted vigorously to increase the purposefulness of activity of citizens. Sacrifice, the foregoing of the present, took on a "significance" of creativity and construction within that historic perspective. Citizens were distributed into various assessment groups: the "egotists" who demanded an immediate better life, the altruists with the vision that allowed them to examine the present distress in a "future perspective". A complex propaganda mechanism, prizes and an extensive use of symbols all characterised the "productivist" move in constructing socialism.

It is no wonder that this question of historic perspective, and its implications for people living their daily lives, troubled --and troubles-- the leadership, scientists and the circles dabbling in the socialist idea, which is, in any case, an idea

directed at the future. The question has, as already noted, pragmatic political implications and, also, moral implications. Among Western socialists there is an attempt to pose the question in another form. A situation is assumed wherein there is no need "to build the future" at the expense of the present. One can conceive a continuity of improvement processes, in the wake of which one could base an attitude that contends the existence of continuity of the "egotistical" interests of the generations. If it be true that future routes are built or take shape in present activities, a present price to be paid for the future does not derive from this. A contrary state of affairs is possible: the better, the more pleasant, the more comfortable it is for citizens in the present -- the better it will be in the future. Chevènement tries to present this view:

"It is possible to ask what price today's generations must pay in the coin of alienation in order that future generations will be happier; but it is also possible to ask (and thereby prevent any sacrifice) what are the freedoms that must be attained today in order that tomorrow freedom will be attained at a higher level?" 78

This problem is closely linked with the responsibility of leadership, and of leaders, for the implementation of the revolutionary process. The elitist, Leninist approach is clear-cut: a group of avant garde, of elite -- the communist party -- guides and leads the "class". It is the workers' class that will direct and lead society at large. Thus a functional hierarchy based on "self-awareness" is built. The party, which leads by virtue of its knowledge, of the "true self-awareness" of the working class, will instruct the proletariat in such a way that it will know its true interests in the historic perspective. In the course of the revolutionary process the proletariat will "know itself" from this standpoint, and will carry out with full awareness the socialist revolution. There is no alternative for the proletariat but to force itself on the other strata of the population, whose interests are contrary to those of the workers. That is a simplified, perhaps oversimplified, description of the Bolshevik conception, yet it

is not that distant from the actual state of affairs. The party machinery, the people who have "the awareness", are the one who will in practice carry out the revolution, and there is no avoiding its enforcement on the wide strata of the public. This public will attain its freedom in the future. Since it is subject to ideological distortions, this strata cannot correctly view its need to achieve freedom, and therefore those steps must be forced on them.

Though the various groups will eventually attain autonomy, the necessary moves must be enforced on them, since the road to autonomy is necessarily characterised by the elimination of autonomy.

This same political-moral problem troubles the supporters of the self-management concept. This is not only a moral question (of the means-end relationship), but also a clearly political issue. Will the socialist party, on gaining power, use it to convince the people, to prove to the citizens, that the party knows what is good for them? The use of propaganda in attaining power presents some tough problems to the socialists. Is self-management to be imposed on a certain plant where the workers don't want it? Does one nationalize when workers want to be the "owners" of the plant? Or is the decision to be left to the citizens out of loyalty to the principle of self-management, both as end and as means?

Will the autonomy be imposed from above, or attained from below (or not achieved at all if people don't want it)? We will be presenting answers when we come to the decisions of socialist parties in France and Portugal, and the words of their leaders. For the moment it will be enough to note Buber's opinion, for he -- the Israeli philosopher -- has a clear view of the overlap between the route and the destination:

"Autonomy in general is not given by fiat. It cannot be established other than by the growth and self-determination of a community that has risen from the rank of imagined experience to that of real experience. If the cells that at present degenerate will renew

their youthfulness, if around them new cells that breathe the vigour of youth will take their places, if the communities of equal type and different places will make a covenant with each other, and the communities of equal place and different types will sound their trumpets, then, out of union of true communities will be formed a true communion. This needs no decision, but only to say "es".⁷⁹

Alienation becomes a relevant idea in the analysis of communities and organisations. With its help, the degree of man's influence over his life-systems is assessed. Thereby is evaluated the degree to which this individual is capable of directing and influencing his community, whether it be workplace, residence or socio-political-cultural organisations. If we start from the assumption that the independence of a man living in a specific society is dependent on the structure of decision-making in that society, then it is understandable that the decision-making system and "alienation" are inextricably linked. Of course there is need for additional assumptions in order to widen the scope of analysis. Questions such as identification and involvement on the one hand, and responsibility on the other, are functions of one or other degree of active participation in the decision-making system. From this viewpoint, "alienated man" does not participate in the decision-making process; does not identify with his community; does not feel himself at home within its confines; is not responsible, and so on. Centralisation -- diffusion, conformity -- autonomy, deciding, ruled, involved, repudiated -- are data for investigation and the organisations being investigated, from the viewpoint of alienation, are many and varied: factories, neighbourhoods, villages and towns, parties and states.⁸⁰

We shall try to examine two aspects of alienation in which it is relatively easy to understand the link between the description of the situation (an alienated one), the desired, ideal presentation of it (socialism), and the route from a situation of alienation to one of self-management. In the first of the two that I have chosen I have brought out the philosophic,

idealistic, moral and aesthetic aspects ("the restoration of unity"), while in the second I have emphasised the practical aspects of how to build institutions in another way, in order that the situation will be better (from the viewpoint of alienation of course). It is important to note that, in both chapters, the reference is to emphasising the ideal and practical aspects. It is not feasible to attempt a separation of the two as far as alienation is concerned, for the one explains the other.

RESTORATION OF UNITY

It was in France that the commune arose, and from France came the renewed call for socialism -- that of self-management. Thus, the French socialists see themselves as pioneers in the renewal of the socialist idea. Historically, it may be said that this renewal found expression in 1972 with the publication of the French Socialist Party programme "To Change Life". The clearest expression of it is the link between the idea of overcoming alienation in capitalist society and the building of society on the principle of "autogestion". Capitalism -- means split, absence of completeness. Socialism -- means unity, completeness. "L'Autogestion c'est d'abord la redécouverte de l'unité," says Vieux.⁸¹ And elsewhere in the same book: "L'Autogestion c'est une manière de "reunifier" l'homme, de lui donner la possibilité d'être totalement lui-même."⁸²

In the French socialist literature that I have studied I found no mention of Buber, in whose writings the idea of synthesis -- the unity of contradictions -- is to be found in profuse quantity and clear form:

"Associative organisation of production and consumption is not enough. A producers' association results in specialisation, a consumers' association results in bureaucratisation. These failures gave a push to the synthesis form -- to the complete association (including production and consumption, industry and craftsmanship)."⁸³

"There are many who see Marx's criticism of alienation in modern industrial society as a theoretical starting point which describes the beginning of the process of "the cultural revolution" in which will appear the unity between men and between various aspects of human life, work and leisure, economics and politics, and so on."⁸⁴

"The objective of communism is to unite the two aspects of man's life that have parted -- the personal and the collective. This not by elimination of the personal (as was done in primitive communism), nor by erasing

the organisation thus leaving society at its own disposal (as seems desirable in certain anarchist dreams), but by organic organisation of society. Within this organic frame separate political organisms will not be possible.

"...two conditions are essential for this unity: a. the absence of conflicts of interest between groups (classes) or between people. In that form there is no correlation between administration and the use of (political) force, which is unavoidable when one group uses force against another; b. all the meaningful decisions are taken by the entire community in the most direct fashion."

And here Kolakowsky adds that "it was possible in the medieval village, but is doubtfully so in the frame of modern society."⁸⁵

Elsewhere Kolkakowky links the idea of unity, the myth of unity, with Marx' idea of man:

"The same vision of man returning to perfect unity, experiencing directly his personal life as a social force, makes up the philosophical background of Marxian socialism....In all later writings which were to define his position in contrast to liberal anarchist and communist totalitarian doctrines the same eschatological concept of the unified man remains."⁸⁶

Peter Berger pessimistically describes the state of man in modern society as the victim of dichotomy, of dualism, of ruptures, of lack of unity:

"Identity itself then tends to be dichotomized at the very least, in terms of a public and a private self.

"Identity, in this situation, is typically uncertain and unstable. In other words, the psychological concomitant of the structural pattern of modern industrial society is the widely recognized phenomenon of identity crisis. Or in even simpler words, individuals in this sort of society do not know for certain who they are, or more accurately, do not know to which of a number of selves which they experience they should assign priority status."⁸⁷

Chevènement analyses the situation of man in modern society, and he -- like Berger -- criticises the ruptures in man's life in capitalist society, and offers the self-management method as a way to reunite that which has split in capitalism:

"L'Autogestion reunit en cause l'ensemble des finalités de l'activité humaine. Reinvidication de la liberté, elle refuse les divisions que le capitalisme introduit dans les temps (les études, le travail, la retraite), dans le travail (la conception, l'exécution) et dans l'espace (les beaux quartier, les banlieues)."

As Marx noted, it is not only work that is divided and diffused between individuals in capitalism, but man himself who is divided -- and Chevenement continues:

"C'est l'individu lui-même que est morcelé et métamorphosé en ressort automatique." 88

Reunification is not "inside" man but reunites the individual and society which have parted, while the individual will find himself anew in the collective frame. It is this unity that will restore to man his individual power to influence, decide and shape society, its road and his own life. "...il appartient au socialisme de recreer une vie collective de rendre à chacun la fierté de soi-même. "Le pouvoir personnel est bâti sur la division des hommes et de la société; l'autogestion n'a de sens que par rapport a leur réunification." 89

The unity of man will be achieved through the unity of his activities, for they, after all, are expressions of himself, his creativity and his completeness. Therefore, the problem of man's completeness cannot be solved by easing or reducing his activity in work. Man who is alienated "divides" in his life between fragmented work and fragmented leisure. He has no chance of acquiring his unity in leisure hours. Let us return to Buber:

"As what does man work here -- as continuation of a machine or as a living body? Is that same tearing of life into two halves, in other words a hell that continues for a number of hours, and its infernal power remains even if that number be reduced -- and the rest from the inferno that follows it but which is in essence also determined by it -- is this rupture a fate that is not to be changed?"

Buber immediately answers that it is possible to overcome the division, and that this is the central role of socialist pioneering: "Work done by every man in complete willingness is essentially indivisible. And in this too I see the socialist

pioneering of the Land of Israel in its most serious implication." 90

The aspiration for unity is in itself a unified aspiration. It comprises many aspects of life. Its intent and objective is to restore to man's awareness its completeness. The entire world then appears as a complete entity from the viewpoint that it has no segments that cannot, in principle, be integrated into the totality of awareness, which is nothing else than the unity of the human world. In the situation of alienated awareness, man's creations, objects, human relations and institutions -- become independent of him. They appear complex and confront the individual who is unable to understand the things that he himself, in his own activity, created. Human forces that found expression in human creations become alien, and in their independent force overcome the man who spawned them. Thus, too, in his behaviour, man is compelled to wear masks, to play roles, to split into different functions -- all of which takes him further away from his authenticity.⁹¹

Kolakowsky explains this in his own fashion, by the use of the concept of the "transparency" of social relations, which instead of standing as impenetrable external entities, are likely to appear in awareness in their transparency, which will permit man to recognise himself as he looks through them at the complexity of social life. This transparency is what enables man to return and find the lost unity between his life and social life -- which is also no other than his life.

"....Transparence of social relations, though control of associated individuals over their life processes.... The split between the social and personal functions of individuals can be healed, between man and his natural setting, between desires and duties, and between essence and existence." 92

The aspiration for unity includes, as said before, the spheres of social activity. In the scientific sphere many splits have also developed -- various dualisms that have blurred the unity of science, must be unified as the world and man are one unity.

To use a modern technical and scientific concept, society -- according to the tradition of alienation critiques -- must aspire for a "hologram", an overall picture to replace a series of still photographs, isolated from each other, which are taken from various disciplinary aspects. "Economic man", "biological man", "psychological man", "social man", "cultural man", "political man" -- are no more than the results of the division of labour between the various sciences. They are the result of scientific over-abstraction. Science has become institutionalised, integrated into the frame of a division of labour customary in capitalist society. In practice, the only reality, the unified one, from which all the album of photographs is taken, is that of man living in his social frame.

"Marxist human science shares this methodological approach as well as the other with certain other trends in the modern science of man, with, let us say, the structural anthropology of Claude Lévi-Strauss or the psychology of Jean Piaget. At the same time it is in opposition to the "pluralistic behaviorism" (to use Don Martindale's accurate term), a type of sociology which knows no structure apart from statistical distribution and postulates the over-all reduction of the statements on wholes to the statistical statements or units. For pluralistic behaviorism to discover the "meaning" of an event or phenomenon is to trace its probable cause by ascertaining the statistically correlated variables. From the holistic - structuralist point of view to discover the meaning is to determine the position occupied by a particular event or phenomenon in a structure of higher level of which it is a part." 93

In the epistemological sphere, it is praxis that restores the subject - object relations to their dialectical unity. The subjective aspect, the awareness, does not reflect the objective, "material" or "real". Subject and object do not relate to each other in "external relationship", but in an internal one by way of which the subject builds --assembles from a cognitive viewpoint and a materialist one simultaneously -- the object, and to the same degree is built and assembled by that same activity of internal relationship. The subject is built from his own activity in his relations with the object. The subject is always a subjective object to the degree that the object is always an objective subject. It is impossible to find a star-

ting point, or reason, in the cognitive process. The praxis is the epistemological process in which the subject - object contradiction find their unity.⁹⁴

The relationship between man and society should be understood as a dialectical unity. Man is social. His creativity and thought, his feelings and aspirations, are all an integral part of the actions of his life, and his activity is shaped in and shapes his social process. Man is shaped by society, and society is shaped by the individuals living in it. The "imaginary" conflict, the dualism between man and society, are the heritage of a certain historical development. As a result of processes that took place in society, contemporary man views himself and society as separate elements. The processes, institutions, values and norms of society, because they are not transparent are considered "things", but in fact they are the creation of human praxis. The relevant question for those who aspire to unity, the completeness between man and society is: what happened in society to make matters appear this way, and what can be done to repair them. In other words, how is it possible to unify the individual's awareness, his view of himself, and of his society as a unity.

In relationships between men, the dualism derives from their social existence -- each for himself, and all together -- in a frame of partial, functional relationships. Man sees his fellow in his partialness, just as his fellow sees him and himself. Contemporary man (according to Marxist tradition), authentic man (according to the existentialist conception), sees himself and his fellow as subjects. This is a relationship between men and not between functions. The "I - thou" is the "I". And again let us ask the question: what happened in society that man should relate to his fellows as to an object, and what can be done to restore the subject - subject relationship?

Let me just sketch here briefly several historical developments that have contributed to the current structure of human relations.

The basic one being the division of labour in society. This division can be understood in many ways, for example, the division of men in work, one which continues in the distribution and consumption of the products of that work. In this process, human activities become characterised by their intentionality, whereby the goals of the activity are external to the activities themselves. This is what brings man to conceive of his work, not as a form of creation or self-expression, but as an alienated activity. There are many other consequences of the process of the division of labour. Human relationships become partial and functional. Man is really a totality, but in their interactions, men relate to one another only in terms of their "occupations" or roles in society. Human creativity, expression, products (from this point of view we can talk about both art and industry in the same way), can be turned into commodities and sold. Man himself becomes "market-oriented", he markets his expressions and creations.

Labour is a clear expression of alienation, of dualism, of split. It is a decidedly purposeful activity in which man sees himself as performing an action whose objective is external to him. The splitting of time between work and leisure is a result of man's alienation in the work process. Only when work and leisure will be reunified, only when man will not know how to distinguish between them, will we be able to restore the unity of work -- which is man's creation through which he converts Nature to his nature. As explained above, work appears as external, coerced, unfree. Man loses his creativity at precisely the moment that he achieves it. As a result of this alienation leisure is also not complete, for it becomes a function of man's being "working man". Completeness of human life will be restored only when work and leisure will reunite in dialectical synthesis. When man is asked what he does, his answer will not be in the context of a dualism between work and leisure. He will carry out his life's activity without distinguishing between work and leisure.

In similar fashion the division between manual and mental labour

will be cancelled. With the cancellation of the sharp division between work and leisure, each man will have a chance to be active and reactive, both with his body and with his mind.

Among man's creations in society there have been rifts that derive from the splitting of the individual, yet also "split" him. The significant of the split between state and society, between political activity and social activity, is the same as that of man's being alienated from his activity (society). With the development of various and conflicting interests between people, the power activated within the frame of society appears as if it was an independent and essential component of social organisation. The cancellation of the conflicting interests will enable cancellation of the power (politics) and will leave "in its completeness" the management of affairs (there being no room for the "management of people"). The split between state and society, between politics and social activity (cultural or managerial) will then be cancelled.

The historical developments, following which a division between elements took shape, are the source of the rift between law and morals, between science and morals. It is the interaction between people that explains the fact that law appears to be "naturally" enforced, and morals, in our context, appear as our creations. There was need for an external system of power to enforce on people the behaviour which, in essence, is an expression of man's general desire, which in itself, is the real desire of every man. Scientific activity appears to people as a special activity, a search for "the objective" truth in the processes of life and, while morality (philosophy) seems subjective. Science discusses matters, processes -- while morality discusses "the good". Yet science and morality are both human creations, both of which deal with man and his relation to nature and to his fellow man. This activity is a unitary one, just as natural man and human nature are one unity.

To the same degree it is possible to explain the feeling of

imbalance between man and nature in terms of historical social development, in which human society, by departing from the control of man, seems to be destroying an essential component of itself. With the return of society to the rational control of human awareness, society (man) will overcome the dualism that endangers his life -- whether in his activity or in that of his nature. Rulers and ruled, managers and managed, responsible and central, or not responsible and marginal, are also rifts whose source lies in social structure, and which can be overcome. Town and village are not "geographical data". Historical developments in human society caused industry, services and culture to be concentrated in certain areas, while other areas were subject to partial, limited, restricted activity. The gap between rich areas and poor areas is not a geographic or anthropological function. Men are capable of developing various areas equally according to the desires of the inhabitants. The tensions between man and woman, adult and child, young and old, in contemporary society can be overcome within the frame of egalitarian principles. Guaranteed independence of the individual implies the disappearance of the antagonistic contradictions between man the ruler and woman the ruled, between adults with social power and the very old and the very young who are dependent on the ruling adults.

As we have seen, this is a comprehensive idea encompassing all areas of life. The division of labour which has developed throughout history, and which has been developed to its extreme limits under capitalism, has made man alienated and is responsible for the absence of completeness, the lack of an integrative vision of himself, his fellow, his society and his nature. The overcoming of alienation implies the restoration of unity. The return of rational control over man's life systems. This objective will be attained through the building of social structures which will guarantee the control of each individual over his life (his society), without the creation of control by one man over another -- without one group controlling another. Thus human groups will control themselves and all of society.

Alienation is a normative category, through which society is criticised, and through which a moral, aesthetic viewpoint is constructed in order to be activated in each of the spheres of life. This is an aspiration for integration, for unity, for the overcoming of contradictions that have grown out of the immense intellectual stream which I attempted to examine in my earlier work. I used the categorical approach in looking for something by which we "see", "understand", "view" and evaluate matters. There is no point in asking whether it is a "phenomenon" or "idea". There is no point in asking whether the idea can be materialised. The answer will always be affirmative. A person who views social reality through the category of alienation, sees phenomena of alienation, and will theoretically be capable of constructing a system within which those phenomena do not exist, or have been restrained to a great degree. As a point of analysis, let us examine one sociological system, the state and its mechanisms, as they appear through this category. We will check the problems of the concentration of power, authority, the ability to decide, and the possibility of cancelling that centre of power. Here again description and evaluation go together. The state is the legacy of alienation. The socialism of self-management, in that it is a force for overcoming alienation, will overcome and cancel the state. People will together manage affairs. There will be no need for rulers. Unity in society will be achieved, and through it the unity of the individual with his society.⁹⁵

THE STATE AND THE COMMUNITY

"The true state for Hegel, is a communitas communitatum rather than the aggregate of individuals.....Hegel's contrast between 'family society' and 'civic society' clearly embodies the typology....." 96

The problem, as Rousseau posed it so momentarily was "to find a form of association which will defend and protect with the whole common force the person and goods of each associate, and in which each, while uniting himself with all, may still obey himself alone, and remain as free as before." 97 Reality, today, is completely different. The state is not a "family" or "organism", but a machine -- one that receives the independence of a living creature, destroying and trampling underfoot those who created it.....

"N'oublions pas, en effet, que la machine aura enregistré tour les actes, tous les déplacements, toutes les adhésions, jusqu'aux velleités (billets de voyage commandés puis annulés), toutes les maladies, toutes les demandes d'emploi, tout, je dis bien: tout ce qu'un homme aura fait durant sa vie, ce a quoi il aura aspiré...en attendant la machine d'après demain qui enregistrera également ses pensées." 98

And in a cry against the modern state, against the individualistic laws:

"To tear asunder the bonds of the subordinate community and to dissolve it into an unsocial, uncivil, unconnected chaos of elementary principles.

"The state does not deal with real people, as they live their real lives in their communities, but rather with abstractions such as: "asserted rights of non-existent individuals" or the geometric distribution and arithmetrical arrangements of political centralizers.

"Those real lives are today oppressed, depressed and shoved aside; the artificial creation named state sucks the blood from the veins of the communities...." 99

The state, as if a creature, an animal rather than a thought-

ful product, controls communities by taking control over the managerial mechanisms.

We must liberate the true life between man and his fellows. The state is a "mechanism that pretends to be an organism.... The national efficiency will bring about the total decimation of the cells. Only from inside, by the reviving of the tissues of the cells, will come cure and the renewal." 100

The analogy of the state as an inhuman machine, without human contact with the people who come within its purview, is typical of the critical approach to the modern state afforded by the categorisation of alienation. Another analogy close to this, is the one in which Buber views the state as an animal. The animal is the machine that "acquired life" of its own accord. In other words, in men's awareness the machine that they created begins to appear as a living, independent creature which is not only a part of their awareness, but also behaves like a monster that has risen against its creators. The "little individual", the citizen, whose communal links have weakened, become undermined and in many cases have even vanished, faces an animate giant upon whom his entire life depends. In relationships between the little, lonely citizen and the giant, it is not only impossible to discern its creation, but the monster also takes on a moral, human dimension, while the citizen becomes an abstraction. Each and every citizen has his file card in the drawers of "supreme management". Each has his number. In one drawer he appears as "taxpayer", in another as producer, consumer, elector, soldier, worker, and so on. His humanity, the integrative aspect of his life is dispersed.

"The picture of the state as the product of his own energies disappeared from the citizen's soul. The care and the oversight of the whole restes upon one man or a few....Each man's part in the congeries which formed the whole was so inconsiderable in relation to the whole that the individual did not realise this relation or keep it in view....All activity and every purpose had a bearing upon something individual -- activity was no longer for the

This way of regarding man and his relations with the modern state, has become, since Hegel, paradigmatic, and the idea of community served in this context to emphasise the opposite situation from that of the impersonal relations that characterise the extensive political, economic or social organisations.

Contemporary man who is active in public operates without making real human contact, and in a manner that is generally illusory. This is particularly obvious in the type of elector and representative who are totally immersed in the imaginary world -- those functionaries "for the sake of the idea", who labour diligently to give a legislative form to that which they feel no need to accord a living form. To the legislator justice is something that must be achieved, and not something on which one feels an inner need to partice everywhere. They do not comprehend that, if justice begins to be achieved in practice, the variety that will be attained will be an empty shell.¹⁰²

A world of real activity, that creates mutual relations between human beings, that by means of conscious transformation, creates a world of "imaginary relationships". Those daily human activities of contact between people, within the frame of their little, understandable, transparent lives, acquire by this transformation a new socio-political dimension.

This is the transformation that intrigued Simmel:

"Social life involves the mutual correlation of its elements, which occur in part in instantaneous actions and relations, which partly manifest themselves in tangible forms: in public functions and laws, orders and possessions, languages and means of communication. All such social, mutual co-relations, however, are caused by distinct interests, ends and impulses. They form, as it were, the matter which realizes itself socially in the "next to each other" of the individuals." ¹⁰³

The central characteristics of the modern state is its concentration of power -- political, economic and social -- which is activated in the various aspects of life of the individual. The concept of self-management implies, in as far as it relates to power, diffusion and the granting of a maximal ability to direct society and his community to each individual. Yet it is specifically in the community that man stands within a tight web of mutual relationships. His membership in the community is likely to be at the expense of his independence. The problem is how to blend membership in community with diligent preservation of the individual freedom to act. If man is compelled to act within the frame of his community because of coercion, then, in this aspect, no difference remains between the state and the community. This state of affairs works to the benefit of the state in that it is an extensive system less likely to pressurize each individual. The answer found by many sociologists who have studied the problem, is that man preserves the autonomy of his will when he operates with rational and comprehensive recognition of the objectives of his activities. The individual is obliged to understand the motives for (or objectives of) his activity, his personal and private links, and his general social links. He must have knowledge and information about everything connected with his activity, and the general context of that activity. In this manner, a clear, mutual link is created between the autonomy of the individual and his possibility of encompassing in his knowledge (and desire) the compendium of contexts of his activity.

Two essential conditions will permit him to operate in free membership (autonomy) in his community: 1. his being in possession of know-how, and 2. the existence of a social structure such that he can understand and influence. In other words, decentralisation and coordination on the one hand, and a free flow of current information on the other.

In the relationships between individual and modern state, these two components (decentralisation and information) are at a

critically low level. Buber and Mayer criticise the centralist state in these contexts as they turn to study the centralist socialist model of our times:

"Centralist socialism, with its ruling power, advances and complements the process of transition from fellowship to society. What remains in the fragments of autonomy in the sphere of organic will is doomed to oblivion under the influence of this trend. This "new world order" would destroy the free spiritual justice. Man is degraded in this order to mediocre rank." 104

"A regime that takes upon itself the decision of what is permissible for the citizen to know will of necessity take upon itself the decision of what the citizen is obliged to think." 105

The community is an organism in its own right, an independent autonomous unit capable of acting according to its own will -- its own decisions. All depends on whether the mass will have all its limbs (the various communities), and will have strength in all its limbs to the full extent possible in the common human economy -- and on whether the centralist representation will not transcend that necessary for the maintenance of the new order. The fate of mankind depends on whether the revival of the community comes out of the impending social change.

An organic community will never be built from individuals, but rather from small, even tiny, groups if it is to be a partnership and to the extent that it includes partners. Communities, in the modern sense, will be the standard bearers of the new economy, into whose hands must pass the control of the means of production. These communities will be both economic and political units.¹⁰⁶ The use of the concept "organic" does not satisfy the yearnings of autonomy. On the contrary, as Durkheim points out in his The Division of Labor in Society, man in the frame of organic solidarity is liberated from traditional constraints, and autonomy and heterogeneity will replace homogeneity and division of labour in the organic society is the factor that will supply everything needed for unity and the order essential to society.¹⁰⁷

Like Durkheim, Buber intends (in the analogy of community and organism) to note that community is a system in its own right -- one which in its entirety enters interaction with nature and with other organisms (communities). The unity of the organism is not achieved at the expense of its components' independence. In fact, this independence, this autonomy, this recognition of freedom in the overlap between personal and community interest, these and other factors, are what facilitates organinity.

Some have noted that independence of the individual, the activation of his free will and his recognition of the community as a component of his own life, are conditions for the organinity of society, for the shaping of the community. "Then it will be possible to talk of the will of the community as being the will of the organism, this, of course, on condition that the independence of the organism will be guaranteed."

The independence of the community, in other words, depends on its internal organisation and that of the wider society. The community's ability to manage itself is conditional upon its capability to consolidate a decision-making system which will function outwardly, as the decision of a unified organism, and inwardly, with the free resolve of the individuals living within it. Tönnies expresses it in different words:

"The third form (social organization or corporated bodies, körperschaften, leagues, fellowships, associations or special interest groups) is always thought of as a kind of human person capable of creating a definite unified will.....However, it is essential that its subjects or bearers, who may be considered as "members" of the relationship, are conscious of it as a relationship which they will affirm and thus establish as an existing reality. This manner of establishing a social relationship presents in embryonic or emergent form what is involved in the establishment of a social organization or corporation of willing and action.

"The collective lies between the social relationship and the social organization. It is thought of as a plurality which, like the social organization, includes a multitude of persons so held together that there result common intentions, desires, inclin-

ations, disinclinations -- in short, common feelings and ways of thinking. However, the collective is not capable of real volition. It can reach no decision as long as it does not "organize" itself into a committee, special-interest group, or council." 108

The concept of membership in the community must be renewed in such a form that individualism and community will merge. A man's membership in community, and the existence of the community itself, are conditional upon his individual view, independent position and full involvement. 109

"The fellowship that was before, in home and village, in city and district, in craft guild and union, as a general situation, an element that wove and shaped all life from within, does not exist today except as a personal attachment, the twilight of a truth between man and his fellow, and it is no longer equipped with more constant forms but rather with mostly decayed or decaying bodies which the contemporary state is unable or unwanting to damage. Whether they be called community, union, or any other name, they will be unable to stand up to the all-encompassing strength of the "socialist" state. It is therefore decreed that the road of development must lead to the decline of fellowship." 110

Does Buber expect and hope that history will repeat itself? Is he expressing longing for those days when man was entirely and inseparable part of community in which there was no room for individual independence? After all, in those communities, justice and law made the individual totally subservient to the collective awareness! Property was of the community, religion was not to be debated, and the merger with religious rite was absolute. The individual's thought and behaviour are conditioned and determined by the collective will. 111 Is Buber's turn to the past not an affirmation of the link that Popper made between the collectivist idea and the totalitarian conception which are not prepared for reconciliation with man's rationality and independence in the modern society. 112

Elsewhere we have presented Buber's argument regarding the possibility of creating communities in the modern industrial world. That argument includes the idea that the wheel of

technological progress cannot be turned back, and that the rationalisation of the economy is not to be fought -- but that we must base ourselves on "humanisation of the ratio". But, elsewhere, Buber claims that "the internal bonds of primitive partnership can be revived in a new image: common land, common work, a common way of life, common faith -- the four foundations of links that parallel those four types of partnership." Buber thereby implies that the capitalist "rationality" and purposefulness is not human. Men need (and the need is eternal) to live in a room while the world is their home. Buber refers to the exploitation of modern development in order to construct a new partnership, by granting common ownership of the means of production to a group of people, when the group has other common interests (housing, culture, education). The idea of "return to the past" does not necessarily emanate from this approach. His is a description of a desirable and feasible situation, that is directed towards the future. Elsewhere Buber argues:

"For the change (socialisation) of society, a decisive importance attaches to the question of who will be the true standard bearer of the economy and owner of the means of production: central regime or social units of rural and urban labour living together -- and the bodies of their representatives.....Organisations of the state that will take on new forms will not be anything else but functionaries of coordination and management.....A change in the structure of society as an association of associations and a limitation on the state to functions of unity, or the swallowing of shapeless society into all-powerful state." 113

It seems to me, that Buber does offer an alternative, contrary to Popper's criticism of the proponents of the collectivist idea, i.e., that Buber assumes that there is no avoiding totalitarianism within the modern state. It is by the creation of relatively small economic-social-political collectives, and many of them, each with independent productive capacity and power of decision -- that one can return to the individual, a capability for rational control of his own life systems.

Buber does not claim that historical development will lead to

the construction of communities, and the state will necessarily become an association of independent associations. He argues that this is only a possibility -- one which is very difficult to achieve -- but it is the best solution from his point of view, that can be found for the development of modern society.

".....The task becomes more and more difficult, and more and more essential, the fulfillment more and more impeded, and more and more rich in decision. All the regulated chaos of the age waits for the breakthrough, and whenever a man perceives and responds, he is working to that end." ¹¹⁴

Nisbet notes that far-reaching historical changes have taken place in the conception of society. In the period of enlightenment, and from the 16th to the beginning of the 19th centuries, natural law was emphasised in society. Man, the individual, was central. Society was no more than the reflection of man's feelings. Groups and associations that did not meet that criterion were shunted to the margins of social analysis. Family stood at the centre of theoretical interest, yet, by contrast, the corporation, guild, commune and village community were viewed as social structures that had no foundation in natural law. Rational society here contradicts traditional society. French rationalism emphasised man's independence. Only of his own free will does man enter into social relations with his fellow. In the 19th century, the idea of community greatly influenced the developing social theories; the community became a centre for empirical research. Here one examined religion, authority, constitution, language and personality. Sociology, above all other disciplines, emphasised society -- and, usually, when the theoreticians dealt with "society" they meant "community". In Nisbet's opinion, communitas -- and not societas -- was the etymological origin of the word "social" when sociologists dabbled in economics, personality or politics. ¹¹⁵

When we come to deal with community social structure, are we dealing with monist structures in which the entire society will be composed of communities of a unified structure?

Buber again emphasises that the aspiration for the formation of the commune of communes, the group of groups, is an aspiration for society of unified and single structure.¹¹⁶

If we assume (and thus the idea of autonomy of self-management of communities was presented) that in community the creative, free and independent man finds his expression -- and Buber himself contended that various people will find the community appropriate to themselves -- then what does he mean by "one structure"? I have no doubt that he intended a "formalistic" expression -- the single structure that guarantees autonomy to all the communities. Each community will decide for itself on the content of their decisions. The group of groups, with each group preserving its independence, implies that within the wider frame, the formalistic unification is preserved as common to all, and that the free organisation is in their preservation of autonomy. Buber himself is aware of the need for coordination between their desires -- the free resolves of the basic units of society.

"...There will not be a unified system of representation, but rather stepped at various levels -- district parliaments, community parliaments and so on... The parliament of the community is the place for compromise between interests... But the important thing is that the process of formulation of partnership will be continued into the relationship of one group to another. Only the group of groups will deserve to be called "community"."¹¹⁷

The awareness of pluralism in the community structure, of the flexibility of the system, will be shared by those who deal with various forms in the community conception. Unification -- the lack of flexibility that characterises the modern state -- is based in the "formal egalitarian" attitude to the citizen. All are equal before the law, and the state constitutions that deal with the individual, implying that the system is complex, are large and lacking in directness, are inflexible, inappropriate to itself, to individuals and the various groups. Individuals and groups differ from each other, and formal egalitarianism creates a unification that does not respond to the needs and aspirations of the citizens. Plant

present many examples relating to this problem. In a U.N.-publication on Community Development in West Europe, the author notes:

"The main problem is how to initiate greater flexibility in social institutions, and thereby extend their contact with the population. In other words, change formal democracy so that it will be living democracy. Conscious participation of the population in the development of communities, and willingness to share responsibility are a pre-condition in the change that is about to take place."

Elsewhere, Plant quotes from another author:

"Communities like individuals have a right to self-determination. In community organisation the worker (the reference is to the social worker) enables the community to develop its own policies, plans and programmes." 118

What is the borderline of a united social system? Nisbet recalls Durkheim's criterion of awareness. Society is felt and influences when it is active. Its activity will not occur as long as the individuals that comprise it are not united in common action. Society possessing internal unity is aware of itself, its place, views and power when it acts. Social unity is formed from active cooperation between people. 119

If social unity is formed as a result of the common activity of people, we can say that common interest, objectives, and awareness of problems are, inter alia, the conditions for common activity based on the free will of the inhabitants. Common interest in the functioning of society is not the result of a one-time meeting in haphazard and transient fashion. A community is built, formed, strengthened or weakened by common interest and activity -- and can also crumble in its absence. Multi-facted activity implies multi-faceted unity and common interest -- and, again, growing unity, the formulation of strengthening community fabric.

The modern centralist state, dealing with macro-planning and handling its inhabitants as "sealed" entities, weakens multi-

faceted social unity. To strengthen that unity, to build communities, the state must be weakened. For the communities to be truly free, the state must be eliminated as a central political power, leaving the minimal necessary mechanism for coordination between free communities. The strengthening of the modern state implies the death of the community conception. The socialists who support the self-management idea are aiming at the gradual weakening of the state, of its political mechanism, thereby creating an essential, but not sufficient, condition for the forming of a new social structure; where the basic cells are free communities -- autonomous groups run by self-management.

Buber explains what is needed for the construction of socialist society:

"....Free space is needed for the communities, untested validity for their will within the natural sphere, freedom of activity within the frame of their natural function. For this is required a true autonomy, the borders of which are determined by the inter- and supra-community interest -- by all that is the common interest of the various communities. Over all these bonds common organisations will supervise in satisfactory fashion -- and here a method of gradual representation would be desirable. They will advise, decide, and manage." 120

It is interesting that Buber uses the concept of Nature in tight link with the community -- their natural sphere, their natural function. In the traditional frame of "free man" and of "the unalienated", nature is no more than the nature of man, a nature upset by the historical appearance of human consciousness. Man is social. His being is understood in that he is "man of his kind" -- a universal entity that lives in society. From this it follows that "natural community" means according to this tradition, the attainment of the completeness of man. In that he is natural he is social, and in that he is social he is natural. That is the dialectical balance, the synthesis achieved anew between the unitary components that "separated" in the alienated awareness of

capitalist man.

Freedom for man is not possible other than in his natural frame -- i.e., that of a society that liberates him from the antagonistic conflicts between man and nature, man and society. To achieve this unity, man must be restored his independence, his ability to rule in society (and Nature) rationally. His strength has become alien to him in that it has transferred to the state. He is helpless, dependent on its institutions and representatives. His freedom cannot be restored unless a natural society, that functions in keeping with his personal will, can be constructed around him (the attainment of unity between personal will and the general interest). That is possible only if the state is dissolved. "La liberté véritable ne peut être recherchée que dans la reconstitution de groupes et des pouvoirs collectifs de toute nature, voire dans le reglement et dans le démembrement de l'état." 121

Buber saw in the "new village" in Palestine a model by which it was possible to build society as a whole, and thereby bring people closer to real freedom -- that which materialises in society, the society of brotherhood. His ideas were based on decentralisation. We have discussed the diffusion of political power, but this is not all. The principle of diffusion is universal. All that can be decentralised, should be. All centralisation that can be cancelled or weakened -- should be. Through the cancellation of central powers of decision, the decision points are brought closer to each citizen. The objective of this is to bring to every man a full ability for decision -- in other words, maximal decentralisation. However, the principle of decentralisation should not be limited to the state, for it is universally applied. In the industrial plant, to the degree that it divides into departments, the ability to decide should be diffused between and within the departments -- down to the ultimate point among the workers. In the village, the small unit, democracy should be activated directly -- the power of decision being diffused to the ultimate in decentralisation.

In the modern city, where there is centralisation of management and of many other spheres, the power of decision should be brought to the individual. This can be done through organisation in the direction of communities, within the frame of neighbourhoods, sub-neighbourhoods. Through many and varied institutions common to a group of neighbours, with the entire neighbourhood managed by its residents. Industry should be distributed throughout the various areas; cultural and educational institutions should be diffused, an attempt should be made to take apart the large unit that deepens the individual's alienation from his society. To return to Buber: the new village will influence the direction of the imageless urban society. Industrial production is to be decentralised, the cities are to be planned organically along the lines of "limb chopping" in close coordination with technical progress -- to convert the contemporary big city into a series of smaller units.¹²²

We have discussed the borderline of social unification, of the community structure that can be measured by the common action of its members. It is also important to examine the correlation between common action and size of the community -- the number of its inhabitants. Is it possible to determine the optimal size, should this be done, and, if so, then what is the size? Apart from answers in terms of limits, meaning the limit of common action, there are no quantitative answers. The reference is to "smaller units" -- smaller than what?

In practice, there is no need for more specific answers if we talk of the general, universal principle. The specific answer should be given by the people whose lives are linked with the specific social structure. "Smaller" must be understood as a direction -- the intention being to reach "overlap" between social ability to decide, and the personal ability. Since most human activities must take place in groups, the groups should be constructed according to need, without them growing too big, in which case they should be split into smaller groups. Smaller is the direction, and organicity is the

is the borderline. Rural-industrial-agricultural communes can have larger or smaller populations. But smaller or larger in relation to what? We shall examine size in terms of the principle of organity. If the commune has grown, but is "limbless", if it is constructed on the principle of a group of groups, if the autonomy of will of its participants is preserved -- then it is neither "big" nor "small". In every event, organity assumes that "management" will not be created in the sense of centralisation of power, but only in the sense of "service coordination" for the various autonomous groups.

In small groups the "real life" of people is carried on. Membership at work, in neighbourliness, the trade union, the family -- each of these groups in being "primary", must be a basic, independent cell that manages itself. A cell of the more complex social structure, from the centre of which it is possible to see "groups" but one can no longer see the single individual man. This, just as the individual, is the basic, essential cell of the small group, and is independent in that his links to the group are voluntary and rational. Within the group of groups -- the wider organisation -- the group should also be viewed as the basic, independent cell. Its links with the wider organisation are also based on the voluntarism of the small, independent group.

It is important to note again that such a society cannot exist alongside the centralised power of the state. The socialism of self-management, of the autonomy of groups, assumes the possibility that the state, the politico-managerial institutions, will be redundant. The management of affairs will be by managerial institutions whose whole function will be to create a background, to distribute information and know-how between the independent communities -- a coordination that will primarily be expressed in democratic planning.¹²³ Authority, in the frame of organic society, cannot be recognised in a specific, separate entity. Authority is a part of the complex of norms, values and behaviours in the whole entity, in the frame of work, in culture and family. There is no

leeway to separate authority and society as a whole. Authority is unified, and overlaps society; its power is based on the normative system which regulates and directs the complex of relations in society. This system derives from, and is strengthened by, the involvement of each and every individual.

U T O P I A

"The concept of alienation played an important part in the history of the philosophical and sociological thought of the past. Its present invasion of mass psychology, literature and art is also profoundly symptomatic, attesting to the growing dissatisfaction people feel with their social conditions.. No theoretical criticism can "remove" alienation as an ideological phenomenon.....alienation is a mode of describing definite aspects of antagonistic social reality in relation to its foreseeable, possible, desirable and achievable prospects." 124

Alienation describes a bad situation in the light of a good situation, which is possible and desirable. Alienation is a utopian idea. The "bad" exists, is real, here and now. The good is somewhere in the awareness of those who think about alienation.

If alienation is a utopian idea, the idea of self-management which comes to cancel alienation must also be classified as utopian. In an interview in the journal of one of the groups in the French Socialist Party, the leaders were asked: "Vous croyez donc à l'efficacité d'une pensée utopique?" The answer was: "On ne conteste que ce que l'on remplace, 125 l'idéologie remplit une fonction sociologiquement nécessaire."

We shall examine the attitude of one of the central theoreticians of the French socialist movement to utopia in the context of self-management. In the opinion of Chevènement, self-management is a utopia that grows from a deep need in the awareness of the masses. This was observed in the rebellion of 1968. We must continue to consolidate an idea which is difficult to consolidate, since it is the situation of a regime that does not yet exist.

Utopia will return to the masses the collective imagery that allows men to confront and overcome their daily difficulties. It is a creative dimension which is likely to motivate men to

revolution. To build a forceful utopia, one must "take off" to the collective imagination, from the rails of conflicts that exist in our society: "Pour dessiner un "project de société" il faut rester les pieds dans les réalités du dernier quart du XX^e siècle." 126

The author deals with self-management as a method of management -- a "real" method -- which he adapts to the management of an industrial enterprise, a housing unit, university, government, and so on. It is interesting that, without any hesitation, self-management is seen as an idea, a utopia, an ideal. The transition from utopia to operative planning does not seem problematic in his eyes. Chevènement asks what is "self-management", then answers:

"L'autogestion commence avec la liberté. Elle ne se sépare pas du plaisir d'exister pour soi. L'autogestion met du jeu dans la société. Au double sans du mot. Son esprit est d'abord ludique. Son charme est de ménager tous les avènements possibles. L'autogestion, n'est pas seulement une exigence intellectuelle ou morale. Elle est un phénomène de la sensibilité." 127

What is the difference between utopia and ideology? These are much used concepts often defined in contradictory terms. Karl Mannheim tried to "couple" them as he examined their use in various historical periods.¹²⁸ The problem of clarification, of precise definition, and determination of the "exact" difference between them, has not been solved. "Utopia" and "ideology" have appeared, do appear, and presumably will continue to appear, in books, newspapers, political, academic and other presentations in such a way that what was "ideology" (in its positive and negative contexts) for some, was "utopia" (in its positive and negative contexts) for others. These two concepts can no more be scientific than can "alienation", "self-management" and "socialism". These are "live" concepts that "participate" in a great many activities of society over many generations. It may well be that repeated attempts to find precise definitions have only served to deepen the confusion in their joint use.

I will present two examples of utopia - ideology which seem to me of particular interest, and which I will, in any case, be using later in this work.

Raymond Ruyer asserts that utopias are divorced from a period, as against ideologies that "participate" much more directly in the various activities of the time. Compared with ideology, which usually represents the "limited interest" or "sector" of class or nation, utopia appears in much more general form in terms of the interests it encompasses.

In the opinion of the author, ideology is pseudo-theory used as armament in political, economic or social struggle -- mostly as an educational or propaganda tool. Utopia, on the other hand, is more "sincere" than ideology -- a sincerity that derives from means and ends being involved in each other. Whereas the two, means and ends, can be clearly distinguished in ideology.

From the same standpoint, utopia is more respectful of the public. The utopian ideal makes its own propaganda. Ideology, in that objectives and means are separate, is likely to be part of a stratagem for the purpose of upsetting means or objectives, as indeed happens in the propaganda use of ideology.

Utopia, according to that conception, can become (be called) ideology. The moment that one or other group uses the utopian system not as an entirety, but as a "part" or interest-oriented "move" for one or other purpose. Then you have ideology.¹²⁹

Mannheim sees it in another form. For him, much of human activity throughout history is not to be understood in terms of its daily, "real" actions. Much of the changes that take place in society are better explained by an understanding of the ideology that underlies human action. Even if we note

that the ideologies of people are not appropriate to reality, we can do nothing except determine that these ideologies are sometimes an essential part of the actual, real activity. We shall call ideology "utopia", when it contains aspects that transcend the social reality. In practice, Mannheim does not offer us a criterion or the tools that would allow us to differentiate between ideology and utopia in actual ideas -- actual society. That differentiation is possible only when we examine past society; the yardstick for distinguishing between the two is the degree to which they materialised.

A system of ideas developed a posteriori from a distorted view of reality will be called ideology. Ideas arrayed in a system that is reflected to some degree or other in the future -- will be called utopia. Retroactive study will enable us to distinguish between utopias that were meaningful in the present (in the view of the researcher), and which are reflected in historical developments after their appearance, and between ideologies that appear in the historical research as appendages to their period, unreflected in the course of later history. These latter can be understood in the frame of "compromise" between various elements. One can use the same method of retroactive examination to discern whether the creations of various individuals fulfill functions of utopia or of ideology. A part of these creations remain as one-time actions that only, over the short term, influence their immediate period. Of these we shall say that they fulfilled an ideological function.

Other works, those that we shall call utopian, became relevant to a certain stream of thought, a certain group which lived in a later period than that of the conception of the utopia. It may be said that the fact of "reflecting into the future" of the utopia gives it a certain relevance, or at least a certain link between the imagination of the creator and social elements of his period, and their historical development.

Chevènement is aware that self-management is not a problem of

the capitalist regime. It is a utopian, transcendental idea for the socialist society. Precisely for this reason, the utopian idea must be discussed. "L'autogestion n'est pas un problème du capitalisme, mais un problème du socialisme.... L'autogestion est à la fois fin et mouvement mais elle ne décrit nulle stratégie." 130

In fact a large proportion of the activity of human beings throughout history is not to be understood by the daily reality of their concrete lives. In this it may be said that their activity is to some extent guided by a certain utopia.

The accepted conception of "utopia" today is "an idea that cannot be achieved". True, there are utopias of this kind. It is important to know that there are people who will call every thought that deviates from the status quo "utopia". They blur the difference between relative and absolute ability for attainment, and thereby reject on the threshold utopias which might be attainable in one or other social order. There is logic in the negation of utopias by loyalists of the existing regime, exactly as they tend to negate anything that transcends reality. The transformation of utopias in general to "impotent theories" in practice, from a social viewpoint, becomes a defense of the status quo. It is correct that in stable and static regimes utopian theories directed to the world beyond were constructed. Yet, if we call the social order "topia" then we can label as "utopia" those ideas that express a desire for change that is likely on occasion to garb itself in operative, and even revolutionary aspects.

There are a number of viewpoints, or assumptions, which by their very existence reject utopias on the threshold. I will attempt to present examples of such viewpoints, which can in general be classified as "liberal".

- a. man has a "being" -- a natural, physical and spiritual structure. That being is open to empirical examination in the existing society;
- b. there is a "natural law" which derives from the natural-

ness of man -- possesses natural needs;

- c. one can explain society in terms of the action of individuals. The central problem is "to understand" and "to know" the essence of man;
- d. as a result of the above -- "the actual society" is, in practice, the offspring of the being of man, and it follows that it may be improved but not changed.

To reiterate, it seems to me that these assumptions negate any possibility of rational utopia. Any programme for the building of a "different" society must seem to be the imagination of its creators and nothing more than that. "Practical", "realist" man has his objective in the here and now.

The idealist, seemingly, is immersed in the future, in the transcendental -- both of which deal in the same thing. The criterion for realism and idealism in the social sciences derives, as we have tried to demonstrate above, from metaphysical assumptions. The criterion is itself utopian.

Utopias are usually a rational effort to change society and its institutions, and sometimes the "human nature". Their objective is creating the conditions for a "good life". From this viewpoint, modern utopias -- such as Herzl's Altneuland -- are no different from those of Plato. In all of them there is a nucleus of criticism of society as it is, yet they indicate a potential for changing the existing, a potential that is not always visible. Utopias are based on the faith that it is possible to invent new structures, and that man is capable of change.

Because of the great changes in the essence of utopias throughout history, we cannot construct an "ideal model" of utopian structures. However a number of general characteristics may be noted:

- a. transcendence, or at least restructuring of the elements that comprise social reality;
- b. criticism of the existing situation;

- c. constructivity, expressed in the building of ideal models that can serve as a yardstick or point of reference;
- d. harmony, which, for the most part, is expressed in symmetries;
- e. totality, at least relatively, deriving to one or other form of equality and unification;
- f. pedagogy, in that utopias are characterised by faith in the power of education to create a man suitable for society and its values -- a society in which deviations, if at all, are completely marginal;
- g. most utopias are not natural in that, even if naturalness is an ideal, it is within man's power to shape society. Utopias are based on rational planning, and they confront technological problems that arise from the needs of the "new" society;
- h. utopias of an anarchic nature propound "spontaneity" in the management of society. The others rely on organisation that is not spontaneous but rather directed. Social supervision is highly intensive;
- i. planning is most comprehensive, and penetrates the tiniest details -- including the most intimate -- of the individual's life in society;
- j. apart from a number of 19th century utopias, known as "anti-utopian", most examples negate individualism and aspire to collectivism and the perfectionism of community solidarity;
- k. utopias are autarchies or "hermits" in terms of the possible influence of the outside world;
- l. morals are based on collective hedonism. Life, its significance and purpose are happiness.
- m. the humanism of utopias is not the accepted humanism. Utopias express faith in a certain man who forms a purpose of his own. All utopias to one degree or other deify man;
- n. the utopias are built on a great degree of proselytism in that they aspire to a situation in which men take their ideas seriously;
- o. utopias contain some degree of prophecy, and the utopist is a prophet either in his own eyes or those of others;

p. the academism of utopias derives from their relatively naive belief that in reality, the existence of models in human awareness can bring men to behave according to those models.

The structure of utopian thinking can be depicted thus:



Stage 1 -- a conception (objective) takes shape in the consciousness of the subject.

Stage 2 -- the objective "operates" within the awareness in the direction of search for the means of realisation.

Stage 3 -- the objective becomes the purpose of the planned action that really takes place.

Utopias deal with man and society in total frame. The utopian world is not divided into types of activity, such as economy, education, religion, and so on. Organic interaction encompasses all, human relations, place, culture, and, of course, full integration between institutions, functions and personal human purposes.

One difficulty in understanding utopias derives from the fact that totality does not differentiate between the various components of the social order, and the chances for separate development of each. In that, when reality is totally negated utopia changes it in toto -- and in all its aspects. In this, revolution negates theories of historical evolution.

Opponents of utopias use "the radicality of change" for a dichotomous separation between "utopian" and "real".

Historically speaking, can one separate between utopia and reality? Is it possible to determine univocally that the real is of greater influence than the utopian? Is the influence of Plato's ideas "real" or "ideal"? Does the faith in the sanctity of private property restrain man's movement more than signs and fences? Is there a difference between the "real" existence of utopias and the existence of "north" and "south"?

It is difficult, in looking at history, to separate between physical changes and the utopian components of historical action. Ideas, theories, and even beliefs and prayers, become historic facts.

Certain viewpoints forego the totalistic conception of society and history, in order to concentrate on the solution to specific individual problems. When the utopias vanish, history ceases to be a process leading to certain objectives. The frame vanishes, with it vanishes the point of reference that serves as a yardstick, according to which we evaluate the historical and social events. The events all become equal in their significance.

Max Weber argued that, by concepts such as progress and dialectics, we investigate generalisations and types that are forever valid. The real in its entirety, becomes the particular combinations of these generalisations and types.

An historical view that examines only factual reality, or only ideas, will have difficulty understanding history. We must try to understand the history of ideas in interaction with the historic social reality. Factual reality be understood only if we understand the ideas that brought men to action. The actions of human beings are based on thoughts that grow out of their given conditions, and those new thoughts will be the media for growth of new conditions.

By granting significance to the various events that form social reality, utopianism allows man to differentiate between the desirable and the attainable. Historic events cease to be

coincidental, and in practice take their place in a structural frame. A view of the structure in which historical and social events are arranged allows people to suggest alternative structures. Classes, states and people, in history and in our own time, have been motivated in their actions by the vision of a utopian structure. This structure is a purpose for activity, but also the reason for activity in that, with its acceptance, the prevailing reality is not taken as final -- is in principle changeable. This is the reason why utopia becomes an object for social research. There are components of the social reality in its structure, and many cases are possible in which utopian structure will begin to be a factor in the changing of the structure of social reality.

In every case utopia is beyond the present. There are utopias that stress escapism -- a departure from our world, its leaders and its concepts. Others aspire to a changing of the world through creation of community through its concepts. The first are constructed on a "different world" in a different place and time; the latter are built from the here and now. In practice the two elements intermingle, and there is need for self control and the most stringent inner discipline to guarantee that one of the worlds will "disappear". This is what liberates the Hindu from this world and, conversely, it is what makes the American businessman attempt to be liberated from the world to come.

Karl Mannheim divides the utopian mentality into four types: The first is chiliastic utopia -- which created an intimate mix of the most spiritual and the sensual; the healthy and the simple. The past projects into the present in a tightly knit perspective of change in the future. The future is in daily life, which forms a basis for change that will realise the heavenly life on earth. Chiasm views the revolution as an objective in its own right, and not as an unavoidable means. Bakunin, for example, did not believe in constitution or laws. He foresaw a storm of vitality from which would grow a new world without laws, and therefore, a free one. Despite the

fact that the Chiliasts see the means as ends in themselves, the term "a better world" does come in here and there. Utopia is a point of constant orientation, sealed in itself and possessing an internal logic somewhere beyond actuality.

The second type is the humanitarian, liberal utopia -- which also grows out of conflict with the existing order, and is stressed by a rational conception to confront a "bad reality". These utopias have appeared in more rational form in France and England, and in subjective, emotional form in Germany. The liberal approach does not totally reject culture, but tries to give an ethical aspect to social human affairs. The "liberal" is not among the "re-creators" -- he does not lose touch with the here and now, and is motivated by an aspiration to reach a sublime level of self-awareness.

Liberal utopia arises to struggle for the elimination of theology and clericalism. Many circles defend liberal utopianism as a compromise, or interim conception, between conservatism and radical change. From this derives their adherence to form rather than content. All historic periods are viewed in terms of "essential lack" -- yet the assumption is that the development of society implies a move to self-awareness and rationality. Liberal utopia is not total, and therefore differentiation between various details takes place, thereby establishing in one degree or other a link with the existing situation, and does not propound sudden change.

Historically, Chiliasm has its origins in the disintegration of the late Middle Ages, when all was in flux. The Chiliastic utopias are characteristic of the lower strata of society. Liberal utopia appeared on the historic scene much later, when the knight had become an officer, and the peasant a citizen. It is intellectual in nature, and mostly based on undetermined, unconditional "free will".

By contrast, the conservative mentality is not predisposed to the creation of theoretical frames. Men who adapt well to

actual situations tend to see their environment as part of a natural world order. From this viewpoint the conservative mentality does not tend to utopias. In as much as conservatives are subject to utopian pressures, they create a kind of "anti-utopia" which is characterised by an ex post facto approach. Matters that seem self-evident become elements of propaganda and justification for the existing order. The idea links up with concrete contexts that exist in laws and norms of the existing regime, in which the highest values are realised. The demarcations in the conservative approach express the need for differentiation between the essential and unessential, the central and the marginal, in actuality. Analysis of concepts, habits, norms, and laws permits such differentiation. A specific historic social structure is not subject to "artificial" constructions, but derives and grows from itself.

The most conservative forms of utopia are intelligible in debate with utopias that favor "change". The latter put the emphasis on the "must" and the desirable, while the former are based on "is" and "was". The socialist and communist utopian mentality vigorously attacks the social reality, and in its argument with other utopian types, tries to prove that the source of their growth is in the full or partial affirmation of the existing situation. These utopias are constructed on a revolutionary approach, which is mostly based on ethical assumptions. Productive man is universal, and from this follows the possibility of attaining equality in the value of man, and a meaningful equality between the creations of people.

It is important to note that the above categorisation of utopias is solely an analytical attempt at the construction of several ideal-type utopian (or anti-utopian) mentalities. Usually, among the known utopias, there is no pure type according to any analytical classification. Every utopia contains elements that reflect the historic period in which it was written, merged with an expression of the author's personal approach, and elements of the interests of a certain group in the existing society. Every utopia contains a blend of close

or remote cultural heritage, which merges in a critical view of the period. The polemical nature of the various utopias allows us a relatively clear understanding of the authors' objectives and expectations.

The complexity and variety of the historical process does not allow us to state with any certainty, or to prove, that a certain utopia is "correct" or "unnecessary", realistic or illusory. Our theoretical tools are not sufficient to judge or assess a specific utopia in relation to the totality of historical development. Only extremists or dogmatists believe that there is complete unity in the historical process, and therefore, take upon themselves the responsibility for judging the various utopias.¹³¹

In Europe, the debate between various socialist schools over utopia and ideology is becoming more and more involved in the political fights. Communist spokesmen still accuse the proponents of "the radicalism of self-management" of a utopian attitude which is illusory. The "radicals" defend themselves by trying to prove that their ideas are "realist" rather than utopian. Another section of the socialists are prepared, and even interested, in bearing the label "utopians". They see themselves offering an idea that is not here and now, but is one of the possibilities for the future -- the desirable, beautiful and good possibility. They are conscious of the gap between the good and the existing societies. Indeed it is this gap that grants their utopia a critical force in terms of the existing state of affairs. Their presentation of an "alienation-less" idea of society that runs on the principle of self-management, emphasises the state of "slavery", of helplessness, of suffering, that characterises modern capitalist society.

The "relevancy" of utopia is not in whether it is close to reality, but in its ability to influence people to act for change. The utopians of self-management do not flinch at reference to their utopian sources. In this they differ from the communists, who see their main source of ideas in a

"scientific" approach to society. L'esprit de l'autogestion ne parait proche de celui de la libre association qu'aux origines du socialisme francais Fourier avais systematisée dans son fameux phalanstère." 132

The supposed science of the socialist idea is a concept deeply rooted in the socialist tradition, and characterises the attitudes of thinkers who are close to the communist party. For them utopia implies an irrelevancy, because of the inability to implement it. The importance of utopias for them, is as primary and weak symptoms of the formation of distresses, but they are not scientific in that they are not appropriate to the tangible social conditions, which can only be diagnosed scientifically.

The socialist utopias were the theories of a class that had not yet matured -- according to Engels. The good regime did not appear in the world as simple, and men neither knew nor recognised it. The single genius who would reveal the truth to the world was lacking, and when he appeared society would learn from him.

In practice, it is not possible to solve the problem of a class which has not yet reached a ripe stage of development. The utopian nature of these theories derives from an inability to realise their ideas in the social reality.

In order for socialism as a theory, to be transformed into science, it needs firstly to be placed on the ground of reality. In the historical process socialism is no longer the more or less incidental discovery of genius, but rather the necessary result of struggle between two classes. With its new understanding of surplus-value and other aspects of capitalism, the proletariat will not be satisfied with condemnation of capitalism, but will condemn it. Thus socialism is transformed from utopia to science.

The development of the consciousness that change is possible

derives from the development of real conditions in which change is ripe. Scientific socialism is nothing but a thoughtful reflection of a real social clash -- a reflection that awakens first of all in the minds of those who suffer the real contradiction of social production and capitalist property. This is Engels' conception, briefly stated.¹³³

Karl Mannheim warns against suppression of utopias. In his opinion, an attitude is developing which claims that "ideas have disappointed" and "the utopias have been destroyed". The important thing is to gain control over the actual situation on the basis of scientific information. From this follows the theoretical possibility for the cancellation of irrational political activities, that will permit rational activity, guided by social science.

In utopianism man chooses one option from among the infinite possibilities. This choice becomes possible only if we are guided by a certain team. Interpretation of history, and a guided aspiration for the future, are two of the conditions of that process of thought.

The contenders against the cancellation of utopia, claim that the moment man foregoes his will to direct history, he also loses his ability to understand it. Thus, thinkers such as Marcuse suggest that we follow a road opposite that offered by Engels. We must take care that science be guided by utopia. An end to utopia is virtually an end to history, since the utopian idea can be defined on the basis of the fact that it did not materialise in the past. The future materialisation of social change is involved in the process of change itself, and thus utopia that deals in a certain kind of change, is realisable if and when change of that kind does take place.

According to Marcuse, the social conditions of our times upset a social transformation based on intellectual and material forces that, in fact, exist in society. The transformation that will eliminate poverty, shortage and alienation is still

possible. It cannot be said that upsetting its action, transforms it into utopia that cannot be achieved. The leap into the qualitative change is not only an imaginary invention, but is based on a real suffering for which there are practical solutions in the frame of the given historic situation.

What are the conditions that permit qualitative leap to utopia? Marcuse specifies:

- a. the technologisation of the regime undermines its very foundations.
- b. manual labour is being replaced by brainwork.
- c. even in the event that society will be improved by unrestricted automation, and can overcome conditions of tough competition, the regime will reach the borderline of developmental capability.
- d. unalienated work becomes a real possibility with the development of automation.
- e. within the "new needs" that have appeared in modern society, there is no point to an economic "war for survival". There is no need for competition in corporations or for "false suppression of desires".
- f. the new needs are, inter alia, for beauty, privacy, happiness -- and none of these are solely individualistic, but are dependent on comprehensive social organisation.

Marcuse's utopia destroys the horror of capitalist industrialisation and commercialisation. It rehabilitates man, the cities and Nature, since these three elements have undergone a terrible period of mutual destruction. It is a modern utopia based on the most developed technology, and characterised by aesthetic-erotic virtues.¹³⁴

"Scientific" socialist theories view themselves as based in a system of theoretical data which are "provable" in empirical social life. These class theories attempt to prove it is possible to reduce important conflicts in society to a basic, class conflict. They contain no attempt to present themselves, on moral, aesthetic grounds, but claim to be "scientific"

descriptions of the relevant social phenomena.

How can its scientific aspect be proven? One possibility is to rely on the solidarity of the proletariat, even if "non-class" conflicts separate them. Gunnar Myrdal, in his monumental work on the Negro problem in the United States, proposes a concept of "pragmatic truth" in order to characterise the "matching" of the class theory to reality. The class theory holds that there are common interests, which overlap between white labour and black labour. Upon the victory of the working class, it is claimed, racial problems will be solved. With the disappearance of the class conflict, the conflict between races will vanish. Myrdal views this theory as escapism from a reality, where the racial conflict has deep roots, for him its solution is dependent on many social, political, educational and cultural factors -- rather than on capitalist or socialist regimes. Despite class theory being escapism, it does enjoy the status of true theory. Blacks are linking up with white labour organisations and participating in their struggles. Why, then, is the "truth" of that theory "pragmatic"? Because the explanation for this solidarity between workers of all races, participating together to solve class conflicts, is much simpler and more understandable: the trade union is a center of immense power for getting work, and if blacks remain outside, their chances of finding a job declines considerably. Black leaders claim "solidarity" and "common-class interest" so that coloured labour may overcome its fears of the white labour union, and organise within it for the sake of getting work. Thus the socialist "scientific" theory can view itself as "true theory", yet this is "pragmatic truth".¹³⁵

It seems to me that this is a good example of the "relevancy" of an idea, or theory, or utopia. Pragmatic truth, in this case, means that the theory serves a group of people who use it. It "participates" in the socio-political process. It is not left for the history books. It prescribes action, and is useful. The relevancy criterion will help us to encompass the debate on social ideas and theories from the viewpoint of their

labels -- "scientific", "utopian" or "ideological". The "pragmatic truth" of ideas such as alienation and self-management is not in their truthfulness or deceit, or in their "matching" with society (an aspect which is difficult, or impossible, to examine).

From that viewpoint, we can adopt the label of utopian for the idea of an "unalienated" society. This is a relevant idea. Its pragmatic truth can be proven since social and political institutions and organisations have been created around it. People identify with the idea and struggle to achieve it, thereby it participated in social action.

There is nothing within the social facts that transforms them to "managerial" or "humanitarian", "capitalist" or "socialist". A valuation is added to "the facts" in people's awareness.¹³⁶

This valuation, or value judgement, in "being added" to the facts -- to the social phenomena, becomes in itself a social fact, if men "activate it" in the social system. The criticism of the existing situation (expressed in construction of a utopian "other society" which does not exist in any country of the world), in itself, becomes a source for changes in the social system. Let us not back away from "circularity" in this case; utopia is relevant if it is used, if someone will say (and many do) that it is used because it is relevant -- we may not be able to dispel this claim with reservations based on "common sense". Only realisation or non-realisation historically will be able to prove this, if at all.....

Thus Buber contends that fellowship is an image of an idea, not a rigid principle. It must be expressed in a situation and not a concept.¹³⁷ And Chevènement argues: "L'autogestion n'est pas seulement une autre société. Elle est aussie le ressort du changement de société. Elle est donc pleinement actuelle." ¹³⁸

Buber positioned "ideal" opposite "stubborn principle". He

hints, apparently, at an important trait that separates one-time utopia, and those that exist through long periods as a "vision" acceptable to a part of the population. The closed, rigid utopias lose their relevancy because of changes constantly taking place in society. By comparison, the "flexible" utopias adapt to changing conditions, are "open" to change, and thus do not lose their relevancy through many generations.¹³⁹

THE DISTRESS: ALIENATION
(CAPITALISM) - THE SOLUTION:
SELF-MANAGEMENT (SOCIALISM)

The description of processes or of phenomena is not necessarily synonymous with "taking a position" or making a value judgement. One can distinguish between descriptive and evaluative contentions. But the borderline between them becomes fuzzy when the theoretical contentions describe human events, and the fuzziness increases to the extent that the researcher has an interest in them.

We shall accept Weber's proposal and take an "objective " look, in scientific research and in regulative study, at a desirable situation whose attainment should be aimed for -- in so far as our human weaknesses will allow it.

The contentions that describe the social processes of capitalism, which I have presented in previous chapters, do not claim to be "objective" in the sense of being "value free". They belong to a thought process that sees itself as critical, or -- to use its own language -- "understands" the social processes because it is alienated from them. In other words, these critics do not accept the social facts as "given data". The researcher "discovers" the facts as "social facts" rather than as "natural ones", because he assumes them to be the products of consciousness. It follows, then, that they are not "essential data".

The difference between "description" and "critical description" from this viewpoint, is that you can claim so much profit, or so much wage to labour, or you can examine the gap between profit and wages in the categorical approach of exploitation (based on assumptions of a "surplus value"). The difference between the two figures is measured in mathematical symbols, but it becomes a "gap" when you examine it "critically".

In the various alienation theories (especially those that serve as theoretical background for political-ideological activity), the capitalist reality (and that terminology, as it appears in some of the arguments presented in this work, includes the Soviet-type regimes) is seen through the eyes of researchers who assume, a-priori, at least two conclusions from historical developments:

- a. things could be different;
- b. it is desirable that things should be different.

Such descriptions of the system of capitalist society are possible only in the frame of certain evaluations of the "good life", and only on the assumption of these systems being "contingent".

One can clearly discern in many sections of the "critical description", an ethical and aesthetic a-priori series. I have tried to emphasis this in my chapter on "Restoration of Unity", where I gave prominence to the beauty and goodness of unity, as opposed to the evil and ugliness of the split.

In the earlier chapters, it was easy to discern the fuzziness between the "subjective" psychological aspects (of alienation in capitalism and happiness in socialism) and "objective" social data (direct or representative democracy). This is not "fuzzing over", but rather part of the "method".

If we assume that man is social, we shall have to follow with the contention that there is a direct link between his feelings and society. I have tried, on previous pages, to note that in the epistemological approach based on the categorisation of "praxis", subjectivity and objectivity are one (the praxis). Without wanting to fall into a causal trap (what caused what, what came before what), I will present for demonstration purposes, a model of social data in capitalism and socialism, and then a model of subjective data. If we promise ourselves to see the two models as two analytical aspects of the same "dialectical process", we will remain in the frame of dialectical method. We shall present schematically the various

examples:

Alienated Society - the Social Aspect (objective)

1. Centralisation of power in the hands of a few (capital-education-political standing).
2. Information in the hands of few.
3. Responsibility in the hands of few.
4. Extensive social systems in which man participates as an "atom".
5. Competition.
6. Functional relations between people; human relations patterned by commodity relations.
7. "Spontaneity" of the social processes, and the individual guided by them.

Alienated Society - the Subjective Aspect (psychological)

1. Feeling of powerlessness.
2. Insecurity in relation to the social processes. Anonymity.
3. Apathy.
4. Mental tension. Suspicion of people.
5. Loneliness.
6. Crisis of self-identification.
7. Absence of identification with accepted social norms.

Society of Self-Management - the Objective Aspect (social)

1. Power (capital-education-political) diffused among the citizens.
2. Free information available to all.
3. Equal responsibility to everyone.
4. Organic social systems. Group and groups of groups.
5. Overlap between interests of individual and society.
6. Full, unmediated relationships between people; relations of subject to subject, instead of subject to object.
7. Spontaneity in individual activities. Social system directed by individuals.

Society of Self-Management - the Subjective Aspect (psychological)

1. Feeling of power.

2. Security deriving from "transparency" of social processes.
3. Involvement.
4. Feeling of belonging.
5. Solidarity. Enjoyment from social contacts.
6. Behaviour appropriate to personality. Lack of "masks".
7. Identification with social norms.

Similarity of Means and Objectives

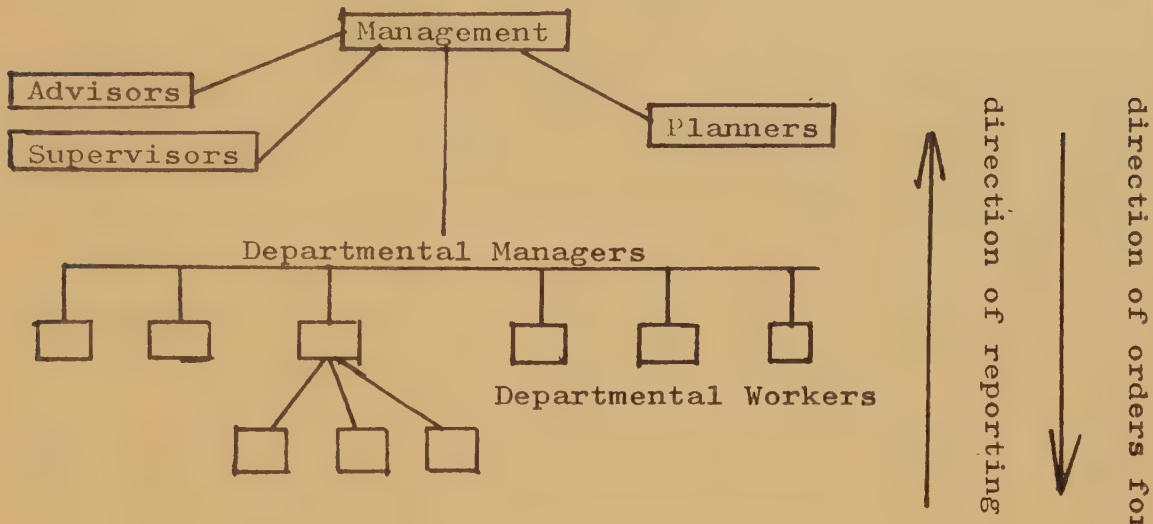
The Objectives

1. diffusion of power among citizens
2. free information for all
3. responsibility for all
4. organic groups
5. overlap of personal and group interest
6. non-functional personal relationships
7. spontaneity in personal activity
8. direct democracy

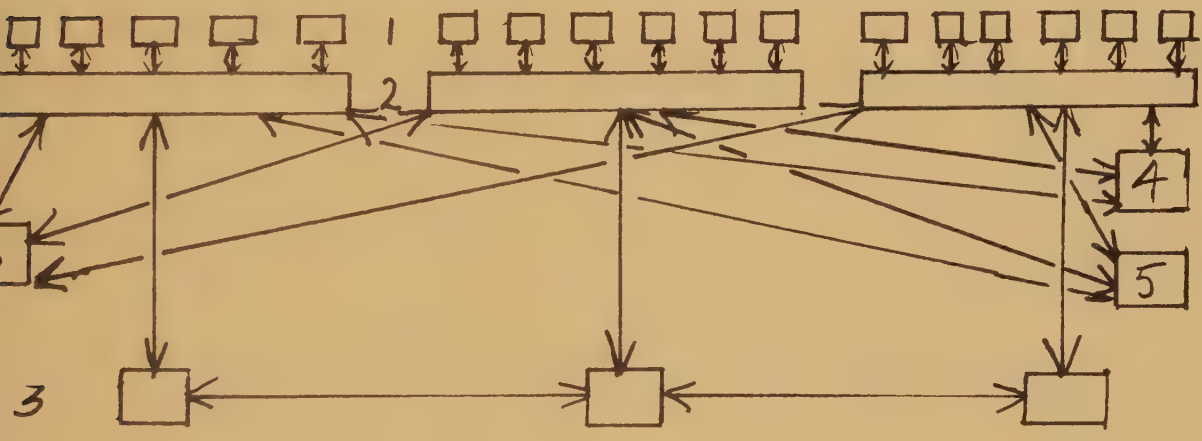
The Means

1. by decentralisation and by delegating decision-making power to the greatest extent possible.
2. by counteracting the control over production and over the distribution of information by elites.
3. by having people commit themselves through decision-making and taking responsibility for realising these decisions.
4. by having the group, not the individual, form the basis of social life.
5. by constructing a system with overlap of personal and group interest.
6. by rotation of managerial roles and the abolition of the division of labour between rulers and ruled.
7. by providing freedom of initiative and creativity.
8. by constructing organic systems with minimum of representation and maximum direct participation in decisions.

Model of Management in Capitalist Organisation



Model of Self-Management in Socialist Organisation



- 1. workers' (or residents') meeting
- 2. departmental management
- 3. departmental representatives in management
- 4. planning
- 5. consultation
- 6. critical analysis of the functioning of the system (feed-back)

A POLITICAL ATTEMPT TO "OVER -
COME ALIENATION" -- "CHANGE LIFE"
FRANCE 1972 - 1977

Is it possible in modern, pluralist industrial society to present a political, economic and social plan with one central idea, or at least a number of central ideas, that guide those who draw up the plan?

For those who, on moral grounds, reject "total change" (as the father of totalitarianism), the very existence of a central utopian, ideological idea will invalidate the plan. By contrast others will argue that, in the light of the fact that the life of man in society is expressed in a mixture of components that are inseparable, a meaningful change in society must include all its components. Therefore, change must be a total one.

The title of the booklet that present the plan of the French Socialist Party, dated 1972, is not Changez La Vie by chance, for it expresses the utopian hope of the planned change of a totality, as against a liberal approach that favors "small and partial change".

This is, then, a "comprehensive" plan. It suggests changes for all aspects of life and society and, as such, one of the following two assumptions may be made:

- a. the changes suggested in each aspect are explained by, or based on, a common solution, for there is no intelligible link between the aspects. For example, there is no link between the way urban planning is proposed and the plan of action for the Ministry of Housing; or between the latter and the overall national economic plan -- and a managerial method for industrial plants. Every sphere presents its specific problems, and the plan adopts a critical attitude to these problems and finds ways to solve them.
- b. the changes proposed in each aspect indeed try to solve

specific problems, but on the other hand there are common elements between the various proposals. There are common contexts with sources in certain general and comprehensive assumptions which are the guide for changes.

In practice, it is analytically possible to divide political programmes into two types: the "liberal" type, which criticises, proposes change and explains its proposals (or justifies them) by the faults that are revealed in the "given situation"; and the "utopian" type, which criticises, proposes and explains its proposals on the basis of a "comprehensive view". This latter offers a Weltanschauung through which criticisms are levelled, and in the light of which suggestions are made which are intended, in the final resort, to bring the "given situation" closer to the "desirable model".

I am assuming that the "Changez La Vie" programme belongs to the utopian, general and all-inclusive, type. Therefore, the following question may be asked: what is the central idea that guides the planners? Or, in another form, what is the central problem that they are trying to solve? What is the distress "included" in the various aspects that can be overcome only by a general and all-inclusive solution?

We assume that an over-view of the "distress" that encompasses all spheres of life is what facilitates the ways of resolution. Thus it is possible to frame our question as follows: what is the distress of man in modern society (and specifically of the French in the 1970's) which is expressed in a vast mix of spheres of life?

My position is that the "alienation" approach of Marx, his "integrative" and normative view, is what guided the authors in their critique of French society. It guided them in shaping a comprehensive plan that presumes to "changez la vie" -- in other words, to make a total change.

The Politico-Historic Background

A prolonged and complex negotiation between the Communist and Socialist Parties of France began in 1965. In part the negotiation was secret, but generally disagreements between the two parties and factions within them were revealed in the French and international press. The importance of the negotiation went beyond any ad hoc political move limited in time and scope. It was clear to every one that, if the negotiators succeeded in signing an agreement, there were likely to be deep changes in the structure of French politics, and an ideological reshuffling in both elements of the French left.

Politically speaking, an agreement between communists and socialists could be the beginning of a new regime in France and Western Europe. The uniqueness of such a regime would be the central role of the Communist Party. Ideologically, rapprochement between "social democrats" and communists is in itself a rare phenomenon, especially if it happened before elections in which the two parties had a chance to seize power.

The "Changez La Vie" programme was published by the French Socialist Party before the election, but at the end of the negotiations with the communists. It is to be assumed that presentation in the name of the socialists, rather than in the name of both parties in an "alignment", expresses differences between the two. But, on the other hand, these differences were not sufficient to provoke the presentations of two plans. The fact that the Communist Party did not present an alternative to the programme signed by Mitterand, who was slated to be the Prime Minister of the left-wing coalition, may mean that, to a degree, the programme is in general lines acceptable to the French left. Among the issues that still remain unresolved, certain central details are known -- but they do not, for the most part, relate to those clauses covered by the programme. It is permissible to assume that "Changez La Vie", in most of its chapters and clauses, expresses the views of many socialists and communists of France in the early 1970's.

For the sake of precision, we shall present examples of the problems the solution of which remains an open question between the parties: The communists emphasised their desire for more extensive nationalisation, while the socialists preferred to concentrate on the "self-management" of workers in the frame of autonomous plants. In the sphere of defence, the communists argued for defence of "national soil", thereby limiting the concept of defence to steps that would secure the frontiers of France. The socialists favoured French participation in various military treaties (European and Atlantic). As regards the European Economic Community socialist opinions were divided, a small majority favouring membership, the communists were against it.

The agreement was signed after a long and exhausting negotiation, and it concentrated on the signing of an "operative plan" -- which eased the overcoming of the ideological obstacles.¹⁴⁰

The Programme -- in General Lines

The general (and descriptive) chapter of the programme takes as its starting point the growing dissatisfaction of the French "masses". The dissatisfaction, it is claimed, continues to grow with the lack of a visible way out of the crisis. Seventy-five percent of the population are in dire economic straits. There is a growing unemployment in the academic professions.¹⁴¹

After announcing that the writings of Karl Marx are the theoretical base for the programme, its authors continue with an integration of description of the situation and evaluation and proposals for a way out of the crisis.

France is in a situation of "profit dictatorship." ¹⁴¹ The activities of a great variety of citizens -- so the plan goes on, in the light of that evaluation -- are not an objective in themselves, but rather a means to achievement of a central

end, which is maximal profit. Production alone is not the only operative expression of this guiding principle. Consumption and culture are also guided by goals other than the human need of the citizen. By means of advertising and other forms of persuasion, the profit mechanism regulates the after-working-hours activities of workers. The objective of this regulation is profit for the "leisure hours" industries.

The authors see the possibility of changing the private property method operative in France, according to three forms of ownership of the means of production. In certain spheres, private capital as understood today will continue to function and develop. A mixed sector will arise, in which private and cooperative enterprises will exist alongside each other (a co-existence of capitalism and socialism).¹⁴³

The, presently, large-scale private sector, will, in the coming years, be subject to "appropriations collectives " -- will be transferred to the collective ownership of these workers.

Vigorous nationalisation and supervision will uproot the control of banks and other financial companies over the economic system. The legislative assembly will enact laws for changed ownership of a certain enterprise at the request of a majority of the workers in that enterprise.

Nationalisation does not solve the problem of citizen's alienation, or that of French society as a whole. Therefore, the drive must be for "autogestion",¹⁴⁴ "economic democracy", that guarantees the workers control over the work process and the fruit of labour. In the opinion of the authors of the programme, "self-management" in the public sector will guarantee stability, while expanding production, services, and employment.

The workers' demands in the sphere of wages -- demands which are "quantitative" -- need not conflict with their "qualitative"

demands, such as human and moral reorganisation of the worker's activity in production. On the contrary, in the frame of comprehensive, rational planning, it is possible to have better pay, more "human" work, and a rational organisation of marketing and consumer systems.¹⁴⁵

The authors intend to reduce the working hours of wage earners, who form three-quarters of the population of France. In the first stage, the intention is to install a 40-hour week to restore to people, inter alia, "the simple taste for life".¹⁴⁶ Limiting profit is not enough. Care must be taken that, as a result of transfer of political power to socialist technocracy, there will not be a gap in wages. To the same degree, the formation of a know-how elite must be prevented by caring for the advancement of all citizens in studies, each according to his abilities. Emphasis will be placed on the development of "creativity" of each man.¹⁴⁷

A non-centralisation will take place in all spheres, the implication of which will be increased and deepened democracy. Socialism does not contradict democracy. On the contrary a socialist regime forms the complement of the democratic regime. Freedom of the individual will not be achieved other than in rational organisation (the social democratic frame).¹⁴⁸

"Mesures immediates ou irreversibles":

As aforesaid, the working week will be set at a maximum 40 hours. The conditions of competition in commerce will be examined and directed by institutions for planning and modernisation. These institutions will arise out of cooperation between the chambers of commerce, professional organisations and socialist funds -- each being managed democratically.

Nationalisation, will be carried out immediately in the finance sector, i.e., banks, finance companies and insurance funds. Large-scale and essential industries and services, such as the arms and aviation industries, the communication industry, and companies engaged in the supply of water and

public transportation, will be nationalised. Those responsible for the action of nationalisation will make sure that compensation is paid to the small shareholders (and only to them).

In certain spheres, such as holidays and recreation, food-stuffs, cultural and entertainment activities and public transport, public companies will be set up to operate under the management, control and responsibility of the workers.

Inheritance laws will be amended to guarantee a "roof sum" of inheritance by means of direct tax of the inheritors, levied according to their economic capabilities.

These actions will be taken solely in accordance with decisions of the judicial branch if and when there is disagreement over interpretations of laws enacted by the legislature.

The state will be divided into regions, each of which will have regional authority, whose actions will be based on a regionally elected assembly. The city of Paris will be divided into 20 municipal units. Within the city will be a municipally elected assembly and a municipal authority.¹⁵⁰

"La Democratic Economique"

The independence of "small-private property" will be guaranteed. Large enterprises will be socialised by one of three alternative methods: nationalisation, municipalisation, or cooperation. In any event, collective control over the large private property must be seen as an essential precondition for the formulation of the socialist regime.¹⁵¹

Citizens will be responsible for the way they work and the fruits of their labour. Antagonisms between classes will be eliminated by the eradication of wage-labor. Planning and performance will, in so far as it is possible, be managed contrary to the concepts of bureaucratic centralisation, with special attention given to self-management of the workers in

their enterprises. This move will take place gradually and cautiously. In each place, and in every case, the people responsible will aspire to achieve agreement with the workers who independently manage the enterprise. The state will be the representative of all. The agreement between the two parties will be one between equal partners, sharing in the responsibility for the proper running of an enterprise, and in its success.

"Maximal profit", which has up to now been the exclusive factor guiding the actions of institutions and enterprises, will, in part, give way to other elements, such as comprehensive national planning, self-management, industrial and political democracy, cultural and social development and so on. These will serve as the guided for the productive processes.

The workers, by means of their elected representatives, will contractually determine the organisation, pace, and division of labour. In certain particularly hard, or unpleasant jobs, there will be rotation among workers.¹⁵²

Though pensions are guaranteed at age 60, the worker may continue working longer if he desires. Emphasis will be placed on the development of public services which, because of their nature, or because of the massive investment required, cannot be developed properly under capitalism.

State control of the financial system will permit regulation of the credit and investment policy to the benefit of the sectors of public interest (with the help of the nationalisation of credit).

Nationalisation must not lead to a new concentration of wealth and power.¹⁵³ Enterprises will be nationalised according to a series of criteria. For example: natural resources, industries that are directed at clearly public consumption, such as water, roads and armaments.

Industries will be nationalised where competition cannot serve the national interest (air and sea transport, atomic energy).

The government will control enterprises where the principle of maximal profit is likely to operate to the detriment of the public through damaging the development of a series of other enterprises -- the reference being to steel, electricity, etc. In every case there will be a transition period in which the private, public and cooperative sectors will operate in parallel.

To prevent the formation of central ruling political-economic powers, wherever the workers of a particular plants express a desire to see their enterprise as a part of the public sector, the government will submit to parliament legislation to transfer that enterprise to its workers. The collectivisation will be linked to self-management. The responsibility for carrying out socialisation will be transferred to the masses, and will not be concentrated in the hands of government.¹⁵⁴

Large public companies will be managed democratically, and centralisation and managerial method will be a function of technical necessity, rather than of bureaucracy. The management of the companies will be carried out in a way that will preserve the principle of appropriation collective.¹⁵⁵

National Democratic Planning, will be carried out so that the regional and local councils will plan for themselves. The members of the planning committee will be selected in democratic election, and the elected representatives will represent social and organised professional groups according to their scope. Basic planning will be carried out in community, neighbourhood and individual enterprise frames.

Parliament will be responsible for coordination between the sectors and the various regional plans, the intention of such coordination being to overcome possible conflicts between the

autonomy of plant and regional management and general national interest.¹⁵⁶

In agriculture -- education will be guaranteed to age 16. Government will encourage cooperation, cooperativisation and any other form of mutual work in agriculture. The general subsidies, which indiscriminately aid weak and strong, will be cancelled. Encouragement methods will aim for greater personalisation of government aid.¹⁵⁷

The commune will be the basic cell of democracy. Candidates to to parliament will be elected in their districts, surplus votes being concentrated in a "vote fund" by party.¹⁵⁸

At all levels of education, schoolbooks will be distributed free of charge. Curricula will be prepared by joint committees of the Ministry of Education, selected by teachers' representatives and parents' representatives. The regime will aim at the individualisation of education.

The management of newspapers will be elected by the journalists themselves. Management will be separated from ownership, or there will be companies in which the journalist will be the owners of the papers in which they work. All newspapers will be obliged to publish their accounts once a year.

In the field of health -- the financing of expenditures will be from a collection method adapted to the incomes of the citizens. The free choice of health fund and doctor will be guaranteed. The research and manufacture of medicines will be transferred to the public sector.

Government funding will be directed by population dispersion. In every place independent communal activity will be guaranteed by self-management of neighbourhoods, cities and villages.

Ownership of the land, in cases of confiscation, will be municipal. Compensation will be given according to the means of the previous owner. A joint municipal-governmental committee will decide on, and carry out confiscations.

Public transportation will be preferred over private. Management of the public transport companies will be transferred to local, regional or national transport committees. The objective of the plan is to supply the citizens with efficient, comfortable transport free of charge.

Consumer organisations, on local, regional and national bases, will be financed by government funds, and will operate as productive institutions at the decision level. Representatives of the workers will participate in national councils that will deal with credit direction. Activities such as these, and others, in which institutions will be constituted on the basis of representation of various sectors, are designed to overcome the imaginary "dualism" in which the citizen appears once as producer and once as consumer.

Thus far, a short presentation of selected chapters of the programme. "Changez la Vie" is not only a party programme for the management of the state. In its approach, language, and proposals, it forms a starting point for a flow of publications which explain, interpret, justify, and consolidate it.

Below we will present various ideas selected out of considerable material that has and is still being published under the direction of the French Socialist Party. In the French socialists' view, since the publication of "Changez La Vie", and the theoretical activity that has followed it, a new socialist idea has taken shape. I quote the words of Régis Debray at one of the theoretical debates:

"Nous ne voulons pas un socialisme comme les autres, le nôtre sera infiniment supérieur, parce qu'il incorporera tous les acquis de plusieurs siècles de luttes; et peut-être dira-t-on un jour que la vraie histoire du socialisme a commencé en France.¹⁵⁹

The starting point of the "new socialism" (and perhaps they calls it thus in order not to say the "new left") is a strong criticism of the Soviet regime. In practice, it is claimed, the economic centralisation of the Soviet Union results in a feeling of lack of responsibility among the country's inhabitants and, from that standpoint, their situation is worse than those in the Western capitalist countries. Attempts to institute material bonuses at work have not helped, identification with the enterprise has not increased, and the organisation of work is no different from that of the West. "Self-management" is defined by its supporters, as an idea contradictory to the socialism of bureaucratic management. As a result of such management, the importance of wages increases in comparison with other, qualitative rewards, and differences between people increase as a result.

This Soviet approach assumes that, in order to combat the capitalist hierarchy, one must create other hierarchies (the "revolutionary hierarchy"). Conversely, the self-management approach argues that, for society to be as "transparent" as possible to all, for people to participate in the revolutionary process (without creating new elites) -- action must be in a frame of a homogeneity between means and ends. The means to reach socialism is the realisation of socialist principles in society; the means to reach self-management is self-management. "Je pense à un ami yougoslave, évoquant les difficultés de l'autogestion dans son pays. Où est la solution? lui dis je. "Encore et toujours plus d'autogestion". Voilà le sens de l'histoire." 160

As a result of their "scientific" approach, the communists, as the only group which "recognises reality scientifically", bear exclusive responsibility for the mutual merging of the demands of the working class in daily life, and the interpretation of the Marxist idea. Since there is only one working class, there is only one essential workers' interest, therefore, there is only one workers' party.

The French Socialist Party, which is in favour of self-management, sees a global process in the transition to socialism, in which various workers' parties, trade unions, youth organisations and popular movements, all participate. Socialism will not be realised by one party leading the masses, but by the masses themselves, organised into many groups (democratie socialiste pluraliste).¹⁶¹

The Ailments of Capitalism,-- it is a well-known tradition in revolutionary socialism to base its utopian ideas on an extremely severe criticism of capitalist society. The new socialism endeavours to concentrate its criticism on the developed, modern capitalism. Man's alienation is of a new type, though the old forms of alienation have not vanished. Combat says of this (on November 2, 1966): "Les formes primitives de l'alienation subsistent partout." ¹⁶²

In America the Negroes are oppressed, in France the immigrant labourers are discriminated against. Irrational developments of a critical nature continue to exist in modern "rational" capitalism. The capitalist rationality is expressed in authoritarianism, centralisation, and hierarchy, on an ever deepening scale. In such a hierarchical structure the personal development of people is blocked.¹⁶³

It is a mistake to think that the "exploitation of workers" is the only manifestation of capitalist exploitation. The economic exploitation that characterises worker-employer relations is augmented by an ideological alienation which turns the migrants, workers, women and children into "marginal" people, isolated within their own organisations.¹⁶⁴

Work becomes more and more dull slavery, less and less multifaceted. Together with the fact that life in the big city is harder, the workers become an abstract that participates in the planning of production and consumption only as a cost. Human relations become functional, alienated, "commercial" relations.¹⁶⁵

Consumption in the capitalist society is directed by the principle of maximal profit of the producing enterprises. In this take-over of the citizens' consumption patterns, capitalism manufactures needs and frustrations. It directs the market to constant "innovation" that is unnecessary, while the quest for individual consumption conquers the aspirations of people. The large capitalist enterprise fulfills a paternalistic role; it creates the pattern of housing, it directs sports activities, it shapes the pastimes of leisure hours. the capitalist market "ignores" many collective commodities that do not fit into its short-term maximal profit trends. The prime victims of this trend are public enterprises in transportation, health, social and cultural pastimes, sports, and so on.¹⁶⁶

The capitalist centralisation tendency damages various aspects of economic and social life. Many areas are emptied of their population, towns are eliminated and small cities face the danger of their very existence. On the reverse side, is a wild urbanisation, dense and high-priced housing is constructed. Within this wave of urbanisation is a wave of problems that ever increases: crime, lack of privacy, worn-out transportation, tasteless daily-life, lack of everyday beauty.¹⁶⁷

It is important to differentiate between "autogestion" and "heterogestion". In a number of capitalist enterprises experiments have been done to involve the workers in management -- out of the motivation to increase output (profit) and reduce labour disputes (and also to protect profits). Sometimes, the illusion of participating in the decision-making process makes it difficult to discern the fact that, having carried out diffusion and rift in know-how and information, capitalism contributes to the narrowness of professionalism. The partnership of this kind of specialist in the decision system is a contribution to a greater illusion.

"Ni l'exploitation de la force de travail, ni l'aliénation des travailleurs ne disparaissent lorsque le le patronat se pique d'être social. Toutes les

catégories du capitalisme subsistent, sous le vernis de la participation et du progrès social." 168

Capitalist oppression and alienation cannot vanish by the agency of partial managerial manipulation. The decision mechanism is concentrated in few hands, the work is boring, the air is smoke-filled, the plants and organisations are gigantic and "no one knows anyone else". Without self-management, no solution will be found to the suffering of people in the capitalist system.¹⁶⁹

If the situation of people is so bad, why do they behave, in their daily lives, according to the values and norms accepted in society? Perhaps if people don't know that it is bad for them, there is no other way to "decide that it is bad"?

The answer is to be found on two levels, both connected with the "capitalist system's control" over the press and other media. Firstly, people's behaviour does not express the lack of happiness in their lives. Their bitter criticisms of society, the discontent that characterises their feelings most of the time, do not find their way into the pages of the press. Secondly, the press and other media, controlled by the capitalist system and concentrated in the hands of few, are capable of manipulating people's awareness. An example of this is that the real, grey, daily lives are not presented, while the imaginary and the marginal take up the headlines.

The concentration of power of the media is reflected in the elimination of the local and regional press. Few organs of the media are capable of withstanding the pressure of capitalists or of the government. Thus the press is becoming centralised, and the centralisation invites control and direction by the political and economic helmsmen of French capitalism.

"Il y a des pays dans le monde où la presse est un "quatrième pouvoir". Ce n'est pas le cas en France où l'état a su se prémunir d'une presse trop indépendante. S'assurer la docilité des patrons de presse est une préoccupation permanente de la V^e République.

Pour combattre le systeme, il faut aussi s'informer sur l'information." 170

What will the French socialists do, if and when they come to power? Nationalise the press and concentrate it in the hands of state or party? Will they return to this Soviet tactic? The answer -- in the frame of the socialist regime:

"L'aide à la presse devra être réservée aux journaux qui remplissent leur mission d'information et sont autogérés. La publicité sera gérée pas une coopérative de journaux qui en réduira et maîtrisera le rôle. Les usagers seront (sans des formes diverses) associés à l'orientation des journaux." 171

Management of Enterprises

"What will be the organisation of managerial power in the society to come? We know today that it will be democratic, not only because of the moral principles of the democratic system, but because only a democratic regime in enterprises will permit workers to see production as an interest of their own. Their positive attitude to the comprehensive national plan will be based on their knowledge that the plan's objective is to improve their situation." 172

The socialisation of the means of production is an essential condition, but is not sufficient for the formation of a socialist regime. Socialisation which does not change the conditions, organisation, and management of work will not cancel the hierarchy or the concentration of management in few hands -- will not bring society to socialist construction. 173

Only an enterprise based on maximal decentralisation of the managerial functions, giving the real power of decision to the smallest possible units, can combat the dangers of a newly-formed technocracy. 174

Within the capitalist frame there is the impression that the production schedule is "complex", "scientific" and "difficult

to understand". This illusion serves the paternalist capitalist tradition. In practice, a worker of average education will be able to understand the details of the schedule, and discuss and criticise them, while participating actively in compiling it. We may assume that it is possible to reach a situation in many enterprises -- and soon at that -- where it will be possible to prevent compilation of a schedule behind the workers' backs. A situation in which the production plan is the result of the workers' activity, is possible and must be strived for. The minimum required is that the schedule should be compiled and carried out with the workers.¹⁷⁵

If we want to bring down the curtain on "special talents" for plant management, then those talents must become the property of the workers. It is not enough to exchange capitalists for "talented managers" in the enterprises. We must deliver to the workers the opportunity and the ability to acquire these managerial talents for themselves, and to activate them in their enterprises.

Socialist management means a constant refusal to hand over the work of collectives to the supervision and control of individuals. The realisation of that idea demands, inter alia, the distribution of all information, in all its detail, to all the workers. Industrial democracy cannot be achieved without the activation of the principle of supply of free and plentiful information to all.¹⁷⁶

The information supplied freely will become known to the work groups that have autonomy in their decisions. Autonomy is not a slogan, and cannot be realised without essential change. This is not formal autonomy, the granting of the right to autonomous management, but autonomous management in action. This necessitates the amending of cultural and ideological structures. The change will give everyone the opportunity to go freely to the source of information, and the freedom of creativity -- the implications of this is the ability to decide. In the situation that prevails today, the factor of

time is a serious obstacle to the activation of industrial democracy. Managers control their time which is largely devoted to management affairs. Workers are engaged in their specific jobs, and therefore must have at their disposal more time to learn, to discuss, to participate in decision-making. The self-management method demands new definitions of the time devoted to production activity. The division of time between the various workers will be carried out according to an examination of the social advantages of the division. These new definitions, and a different division of time for management between the workers of the enterprise, are essential components in the socialist struggle to overcome oppression and alienation that now prevails in capitalist industry.¹⁷⁷

The concept of nationalisation is now accepted as the process of handing the enterprise over to governmental management. Since nationalisation makes no difference as far as the workers are concerned, it is not the objective of socialism. The ability to decide is the essential element and must be transferred at all levels to those working. There are cases where the transfer of management exclusively to the workers might act to the detriment of the public that consumes the product of the enterprise. In such cases, democratically elected representatives for the use of the plant's services, or from the consumers' council, will participate on the managerial committees.¹⁷⁸

We will present an example of managerial method of an enterprise where, because of its nature, it is important to have cooperation between users as well as workers. A hospital, for example, should be managed by the method of self-management, on the basis of equality in decision of all workers. The problem is how to supervise economic aspects. Because health services demand the investment of considerable public funds, hospitals will operate on the basis of a contract with the management of the district in which it is located. Representatives of the "users" will participate in management, thus by means of the contract and its implementation, will maintain

the direct supervision, as far as possible, by the inhabitants of the district.¹⁷⁹

In the many publications that discuss self-management in enterprises and economic organisations, stress is laid on the fact that the individual plant cannot be the only responsible agent for production. The plant's product is a matter for society as a whole (consumers, distributors, users), and not only for the workers in it. Thus, the self-management of the plant must fit into an overall plan decided upon democratically. This only becomes possible within the self-management of the national plan.

We shall attempt to sum up the significant of self-management for the manufacturing plant:

- a. self-management implies election by the workers of representatives, with supervision of the electors over the elected.
- b. self-management means democratic general planning, which must eliminate conflicts deriving from imbalance between the various activities and enterprises. The planning will prevent the decline of the technique that might result from the group egotism generated in capitalist society.
- c. self-management means total decentralisation in all communications methods, and an essential change in the structure of learning and education as they are practised today.¹⁸⁰

Direct Democracy

Self-management is socialism. In other words, the formation of a society free from exploitation. Under socialism the wage will disappear, since each individual participates in the collective ownership of the means of production, through the direct control of the enterprise where he works, and the place where he lives. Free mobility, the possibility of professional

"assets" to all -- these are other factors that will ensure the disappearance of the gap between physical and intellectual labour. The state will vanish as a tool of control. The attainment of social unity has no further need for the administrative arm of state, this unity will blossom from the various activities, and the form of organisation and management, of the citizens. Unity imposed from above will be replaced by the shaping of popular consensus, which will grow out of free debate at all levels. In brief, self-management is the realisation of the democratic idea in all aspects of social life. Both as a factor in the activation of this democracy, and as a result of it, a new type of man, liberated from any alienation, will appear.¹⁸¹

The organisation of work in a certain enterprise, the planning and division between the workers, the division of various functions, the operative method of an agricultural cooperative, the addition of a dimension or the initiation of any change in a neighborhood -- are a few examples of the kinds of decision to which we refer. These decisions must not be made without the direct and active participation of those concerned. It is important to note that the participation of experts is unavoidable and desirable, but the important thing is placing them within the decision-making system in a way that ensures their advisory function, without detracting from the degree of free participation by all concerned. Wherever the numbers involved in decision permits, a general meeting will be maintained on a regular basis.

In cases where size makes direct democracy awkward, representatives must be elected directly and in secret ballot, and the democratic process must ensure to the general meeting the possibility of withdrawing a mandate from representatives if the participants in the meeting deem fit.¹⁸²

"One of the mystifications accepted in bourgeois democracy is the activation of a method which is, in practice, pseudo-democratic. Within the capitalist regime, institutions and organisations are so built as to perpetuate the isolation and the lack of unity between people by means of

atomisation.

"This dispersion weakens, and largely eliminates the ability to decide by the people. What remains to them is the ability once every four or five years to transfer their ability to decide. This transfer of authority is a permanent method, and thus the real ability to decide remains in the hands of representatives without direct contact with the masses." 183

There is, therefore, no substitute for the constant direct supervision by the electors over their representatives, and this supervision will be effective only if the electors have the possibility of revoking the mandate, recalling the representative to the general meeting, and replacing him. "Le rapport mandant -- mandataire tend, d'une certaine manière, à reconstituer le rapport dirigeant -- dirigé." 184

The choice of direct democracy as preferable is not, therefore, in order to cancel representative democracy, but to try and place the representatives (who will be chosen only where direct democracy is impossible) under the direct supervision of their electors.

Clearly there are advantages and disadvantages to both direct and representative democracy. In the latter system there is constant danger of creation of an oligarchic grouping, while in the former there is danger of manipulation of the general meeting by exploitation of rhetorical talents, irrational frames of mind, the fatigue of participants, faulty information, and so on. 185

The advantages of both methods are to merge under "self-management", emphasis being placed on the decisive power of the general meeting as an institution which gives final approval to decisions or amends decisions that have already been taken at various levels. 186

One of the complexities in the activation of self-management is the granting of autonomy of decision to enterprises, on the

one hand, and of activating national planning, on the other. Planning greatly limits autonomy. The answer given by those engaged, is that self-management means giving power to decide to "those concerned". This implies that, at the comprehensive, multi-faceted national level, there must be coordination between all the components. National planning will be the result of coordination and the stressing of a general order of priorities.

"The national plan is nothing but the development of democracy in the socialist society. This plan expresses the collective desires of all the inhabitants. Its role is to impeded, encompass and integrate private courses by bringing them to the level of collective demands. If the existence of democracy is guaranteed in drawing up the plan (which will begin from the bases -- work places, neighbourhoods and villages -- up to coordination in the national parliament), then it does not express a concentration of power and of supervision of the various social activities, but to the contrary, it is the democratic national plan that will emphasise and guarantee at all levels the autonomy of collective will." 187

Decentralisation

To return to the definition of self-management -- the decisions are made at the level nearest those concerned, while those chosen to make decisions are constantly supervised by those who elected them.

"The development of the modern state built a complex and complicated structure, in which the guarantee of the necessary minimum for its regular functions are based on growing centralisation of the managerial role. Within this "logic", the more complex the system the greater the need for efficient centralisation. Control of the decision system means control of the supervisory positions, the managers having at their disposal information, consultation and supervision of those that serve them during the making of decisions. The self-management plan, being based on collective property, collective control of the main means of production and of democratisation of planning, represents the reverse of "managerial logic" as accepted in the industrial societies." 188

This is the first time in history that a socialist movement offers a method of management capable of presenting a general model which brings with it a solution to the main problem of society. Within the new socialist conception, when activated, it will be possible to combat various critical problems of life and environmental quality.¹⁸⁹ The self-management system gives us a picture of a society in which all the collectives will possess the minimum autonomy required for placing their destinies in their own hands.¹⁹⁰

"The two positions of principal privilege in the self-management system will be the commune and the common place of work. Suitable community plans will permit the building of a complementary overlapping relationship between individuals and collectives at the local level. The management of the liberated lands will be handed to communes or institutions that will link between the communes in the region. The wage-earner in agriculture will gradually disappear, both by change of status of the wage earner in the various agricultural units, and by the activation of self-management of the workers in the large agricultural units." ¹⁹¹

Decentralisation will, in the final resort, guarantee the collective social control over all spheres of human activity that have social implication. "Effective geographic decentralisation of information will take place within the system. We do not mean a method for regional diffusion and communication, but a new conception which will in essence be appropriate to the special problems of each area." ¹⁹² Each area will be responsible for the definition of its main problems and for finding solutions within the general plan. Changes will not take place without the residents of the area actively taking part in the planning and implementation of these changes.¹⁹³

Economic Democracy

"Economic democracy is the central characteristic of socialism. Yet one must not conclude from this that the reference is only to the social control of the means of production. Economic democracy involves the giving of democratic capability to worker management."¹⁹⁴

It is difficult today to avoid the fact that the market economy is incapable of solving the problems that are becoming intolerable for men living in the developed industrial societies. These problems are not resolvable in the existing system, since they are a result of activity in the market whose consequences go further.

Capitalist development demands a heavy price from its people. On top of the oppression and alienation of productive workers, there is an economy of relative surplus that leads to exploitation and elienation of the consumer. The modern economy's "desirable consumer" is the victim of conformism in consumption habits, while these habits are formed and directed by a sophisticated advertising system.¹⁹⁵

Gradual democratisation of needs may become possible in a non-centralised social organisation. Such a society may be able to define its own orders of priority for consumption, thereby deciding what is important -- and, no less, what is unnecessary. The setting of criteria by which such decisions will be taken will also be democratic. It is these criteria that will assist the various collectives in determining the private and public consumption patterns for themselves.¹⁹⁶

"A new view of "social benefit" as the yardstick for priorities in production and consumption, changes the "economic" method practised in capitalism. According to this approach, production and consumption will be viewed as an integral part of various matters that are not "economic" in essence. Thus, social affairs, culture, the good feeling of man, will be legitimate components of "economic" thought. A central position in the order of priorities to be determined will be accorded to the direct involvement of people at work and in their homes. This involvement will be based on a wide expanse devoted to each individual's initiative and creativity. And these will also form essential "economic" considerations. There are those who criticise the economic theory in socialist thought, accusing us of the lack of deail in our plans. A method that argues for people deciding on their own activity cannot in advance decide all the details of their decisions. We make do at this stage with the presentation only of general ideas."

"It is possible to define the essential difference between the capitalist and socialist economic system thus: in capitalism economic activity is measured by profitability. In socialism, the balance is drawn up between the quantity of work required in a certain activity and the social advantages of that activity." 197

"This way the important thing will not be to produce (no matter what the production) with the objective of achieving maximal profit, but rather that the process of production will be adapted to the needs of human beings. Needs such as the need for work (guaranteed full and varied employment), the need to enjoy leisure hours, the enjoyment of material and intellectual advantages -- all these and others will form the objectives of the productive activity." 198

"It is a total contrast, an overturning of the form and content of production, of economic activity. It is not true that the needs of the inhabitants are what guides production in the capitalist economy. The articles produced are not valued by their usefulness, but rather by their price. Articles become goods. Everything is directed by commercialisation. Needs become commercial needs, the market penetrates every sphere of life, housing, leisure and even the sexuality of human beings." 199

In the developed society everything is measured by quantity. Investment, wages, the prices of basic materials are all measured, and in relation to them output is measured. The socialist economy breaks free from these quantitative attitudes. The form of production and the quality of work invested is to be taken into account in relation both to those who consume the products and those who produce them. Many qualitative human things join in the economic activity. Economic activity will be tested, inter alia, in the context of its psychological, social, aesthetic and medical results, in the status of women, and so on. The conditions of work and of life are an integral part of the yardstick of "social benefit" by which production and consumption will be measured. This yardstick will be determined freely and democratically by the people concerned. 200

And what will happen when an economic enterprise fails? The entire society is responsible for the rehabilitation or trans-

fer of its workers to other jobs. Within comprehensive democratic planning there will exist conditions guaranteeing the success of the individual enterprises.

The national planning will deal with matters such as relations with international factors, the creation of national orders of priority, the prevention of waste and unnecessary duplication, and the thrust towards equality in the development of the various regions. All these will be done in constant negotiation between the planning elements and those who perform at the local, regional and national levels.

Autonomy of the basic units will be preserved to the maximum degree possible. This autonomy involves the active participation of the local units in the comprehensive national plan. The commune will be the basis of all planning.

It is important that there should be overlap between the timing and implementation of a national plan and the term of office of parliament and government. In this fashion the masses will be able more easily to direct the planners and implements at the national level according to their desires.²⁰¹

Within the constant negotiations between national-level performance and the local enterprise, an effort is to be made to prevent conflicts of interest, or to overcome them if they do appear. Decisions taken in autonomous enterprises, managed by their workers, must not clash with the more general, regional and national interests.²⁰²

The objective of the national plan is to prevent, by negotiation with the autonomous enterprises, the creation of bureaucratic control, and simultaneously to avoid a state of anarchy that might arise from competition between the nationalised enterprises.²⁰³

Creative Work

The place of production, and of the work process, in socialist theory is not coincidental, nor does it derive from the assessment that man's suffering in the work process is greater and more serious than any other suffering. The assumption among socialist is, like many others, based on a Hegelian-Marxist tradition. Work in the past, was the given condition into which man was born. Past work is what shapes the main lines of the present. The products which we inherit from the historic past are not just articles. They form attitudes, ways of thought, concepts -- in brief, an intellectual structure that influences our social views, human relations, and social activity, in general. Thus we can say that, in the frame of Marxist tradition, the production process and its products offer a "nucleus" of society in its entirety.

"Production is an activity which to a great extent conditions all other activities in human life. Production conditions the lives of the workers themselves. The nature and scope of private and public consumption are determined in the production system. Within that same system numerous other things, such as the shaping of the environment, the concentration or dispersion of population, the rate and nature of many activities, are determined. Human production is what shaped and shapes the world. From this derives the fact that knowledge of the production process is knowledge of social life in its entirety, and the planning of production is the planning of society." ²⁰⁴

If we want to know the general picture of the situation of man in modern capitalist society, we would be well advised to ask what is the situation of the worker in production in that society:

"Today, the worker is the "work-force", and planned and mechanised as the continuation and servant of the machine. Capitalist mechanisation answers the needs of the capitalist society, and it follows that most jobs are alienated, humiliating, boring and monotonous." ²⁰⁵

The same ideas can be formulated in different words:

"A healthy state is not only the lack of disease. It is a state of good physical, mental and social feeling. In the current situation, we are sick and our disease grows out of the conditions of work and environment. Work has become a painful activity. The tough work conditions are not particularly to be linked with modern technology. We could say that only if we include in the concept of technology the desire of employers to interfere in the life processes of the workers, and primarily in the sphere of relations between them. That phenomenon is present in industry, administrative services, commerce, banking and even agriculture. The unpleasant work does not allow personal development of the worker. Production is completely cut off from creation."

Publications of the French Socialist Party repeatedly use the forms of criticism known to us for years from the activities of communists in the West. Class war, the exploitation of the proletariat by the bourgeoisie, governmental mechanisms in the service of big private capital, international plots between French government and big industry and international elements that "grow stronger, grow fewer and take control of international economies for the benefit of their profit interest." Here and there it is possible to find expressions such as "the seizure of the regime by the working class". The one difference between these and communist or social-democratic publications is in the emphasis on overcoming alienation, on the good feeling of the individual, on his work, his enterprise, his society (and it is important to stress that "his" in the ownership sense but rather as identification and overlap -- in the style of "l'état c'est moi").

We return to study a section of "Planning and Self-Management", an official publication of the party, written by two economists and two members of the party's central national institute. Of particular interest is their repeated return to the expression "belonging":

"We must learn lessons from history in order to realise our objectives. One of the characteristics of socialism is to create a community of workers based on common interests, liberated from class exploitation. In this manner, the workers will be able to see production as

their production, and their work as their work and not as a means of livelihood conceptualised by the work tradition of others. In this context, organised workers will no longer be in a position of only defending themselves; they will be able to shape their organisation as a starting point for the shaping of society." 206

"The entire "self-management" problem concentrates on this question: will it be possible in this method to let the workers understand that the reference is to their work, their production, their social system? Only a positive answer to this question, together with the granting of the ability to manage the collective interests of the workers, can guarantee that the method of which we speak is that of self-management. In this way it will be very easy to fall on to a very strong subjective base in defining the system. It must be re-emphasized that, with the elimination of class conflicts, the development of the socialist society of self-management (système socialiste autogestionnaire) will be dependent on the type of economic organisation that is chosen." 207

In many publications there is sharp criticism of socialist "productivism". "This is a total distortion of socialist thought." Man is enslaved to an objective far beyond him, such as "increased national production", "socialism means electricity". Taylorism, Stakhanovism, a call to the workers to work Sunday with a hearty description of the "socialist Sunday workday" in the Soviet Union -- these are examples. Socialist productivism is at its root anti-human -- an approach which turns the alienated work of capitalism into forced labour under a government which determines form, content and pace of work. Slogans, propaganda and indoctrination cannot change the crux of it. Socialism must aspire to a human production method, to create unalienated work. The "socialist" countries of Eastern Europe (Yugoslavia being an exception in this context) are the absolute reverse of this, and the link between the production system and the social system in general is clearly visible. The French socialists believe that socialism is to be built by the building of a socialist production system, and that it cannot be done vice versa, by the deepening of alienation in work in order to gain total liberation from alienation "later". It is no

wonder that Marx' writings on alienation are read in those countries as "his immature period".²⁰⁸

"The worker cannot be a slave six days a week in the production system, and be sovereign and free in his political activity on Sunday." Socialist planning must take into account that man's life is divisible. Man's attitude to society (his fellows, values and norms, and also himself) is determined at work and after work. This is his life. His attitude will be influenced by it. The time devoted to work as compared to other activities, the quality of activity in work, the social stratification shaping up at the workplace and the hierarchy that may derive from it -- these are not "work problems" in the narrow sense. Alienation at work means alienation in the entire life process.

Democratic socialist planning must view the picture in its entirety; work and leisure, quantity and quality of work, are all indivisible factors. In the frame of planning, there will be a close link between the worker's activity in production and his entire social activity, since he is interested in the entirety -- production, consumption, culture, health, entertainment are then all part of his life, part of his work.²⁰⁹

Socialism, as a regime that creates a new approach, seeks to shape new, revolutionary forms of culture: "Elles seront affranchies de toutes les aliénations intellectuelles ou commerciales et favoriseront l'indépendance matérielle et morale du travail créateur." ²¹⁰

Elimination of Division of Labour

Elimination of the division of labour is a declared objective and a subject for discussion and decision between active socialists, and particularly their intellectuals.

By division of labour the socialists mean very specifically

the concept as formulated in the writings of Marx:

"The aspiration of French socialism is no different from that of Marx which propounded the seizure of the regime by "the direct producers", the elimination of the division between managers and performers, between physical and mental labour." 211

It is important to note that, man is not involved in the "division of labour" if the work he chooses, is done freely, in a choice at a certain moment between "the work" and activity of another kind. To the same degree, if a group of workers divide their work and plan rotation of the unpleasant jobs, then this is not "division of labour".

Division of labour derives from and exists only in an enforced situation. Division between physical and mental labour falls within that concept only if people do not succeed, or are not allowed, to choose freely the type of work they want.

Elimination of division of labour involves the elimination of labour itself, when people carry out the activities of their lives in voluntary fashion, through the choice of activity by the free will of the chooser.

The socialists themselves are aware that borderlines between people, deriving inter alia from "functional conflicts" are unavoidable even in socialist utopia. Their response is in their proposal to preserve, in every case, the organic structure and pluralist decision system. "Socialisation of the assets of means of production does not cancel social borderlines, and thus there is need for pluralist society and, within it, for the activity of trade unions." 212

In enterprises run on self-management, care must be taken to preserve pluralism in management. It is forbidden that any trade union should gain control over a productive enterprise, yet on the other hand, the workers must not be isolated from their trade unions. Within the pluralist state, unions look after the specific interests of a certain type of worker. The trade unions will, in each enterprise, be represented in

one of the institutions that deals with the current functioning of production.²¹²

Division of labour can be examined from different aspects, so that various solutions can be offered to overcome it. We have seen that the division between physical and mental (blue collar - white collar) labour is one of the most painful in capitalist society -- but there are many others which are no less serious: "The division of labour between producers and deciders, between implementers and realisers, grows even deeper in capitalist society. This problem will be one of the toughest to resolve in socialist society."²¹³

"The capitalist economic system creates a rift between two separate "existences" of man -- his existence as "acquirer" and as "worker"." The alienation of the "consumer", who is, of course, a "producer" at the same time, is expressed in his inability to take control of the "consumerism" that typifies modern industrial society. Aping of the higher classes, based in modern advertising techniques, equates "high-level consumption" with "happiness". In this respect, elimination of the division of labour is to be seen in the creation of a society where every individual decides "in overview" the production and consumption. In determining the scope, form, and content of consumption, a determination is made for production, which, in large part, will be guided by previous rational decisions.²¹⁴

There is an additional aspect to the division of labour which reached its peak in capitalist society and which was unknown in history -- this is the process of specialisation and professionalism, which itself gives rise to various conflicts. It can give rise, in competitive society, to a situation of limited meeting points between limited people. In addition, it provides a division between those who know (in a specific area of specialisation) and those who do not know.

A division exists between specialists and those who must follow them. The "knowledgeable", technocrats, teachers and

politicians, stride forward, while the "know-nots" must rush after them. There are the "productive" (men) and "non-productive" (women, youth and old aged). There are the responsible (man in the family, manager in the plant, the adult) and the "non-responsible". Thus the division exists in various aspects of life.²¹⁵

The division of labour is a certain form, a certain aspect, of the capitalist whole -- and a solution to the problem is not dependent on carrying out one or other "exercise" in a section of the social system. Overcoming the division of labour means overcoming capitalism in its various forms. "La division actuelle du travail se trouvera progressivement remise en cause avec tout ce qu'elle implique d'exploitation et d'alienation."²¹⁶

Elimination of the State

"Socialism intends, as against the abstract conception of the lonely citizen confronting the state in its loneliness, to give men and women direct control over the political forces."²¹⁷

"Within the society based on the self-management principle, the alienation between man (his real life) and the state will be gradually reduced. This will happen the moment that the state functions solely as coordinator. This coordination will take place on the basis of contact and negotiation between sector, enterprise, organisation and area."²¹⁸

"The political, governmental force interferes in decisions taken in all frames of social life, and not only in production. Self-management socialism will overcome this concentration of power by a merger of direct control and a power of attorney to coordinate, given to the parliamentary echelon. This power of attorney will be under the supervision of the electors, and may be cancelled at their discretion."²¹⁹

"In the industrialised countries of both East and West, the means of communication and information are concentrated in few hands (the managers of big companies and government). With the development of modern technology, real possibilities have been created for democratisation of the communication media and the transfer of

information. The decentralisation of the media and the information sources is possible, and care must be taken that many organisations such as municipal organisations, trade unions, consumer organisations, cultural organisations, sports groups and so on, receive the necessary tools, in their hands." 220

"The judicial system and its place in society must be redefined. In each case the legal system must be shaped in the closest link with the population. The citizens' control over their society must include, among others, a real collective control over the legal system, with the intent of guaranteeing every man his rights and freedoms."

"The situation of people working in the security, legal and police systems is particularly tragic. Their limitations in various aspects of life derive from regulations and decrees that place them in isolation from the other sections of the population. These citizens are ousted from trade unions -- one of the tools that eases their double alienation as workers and citizens on the one hand, and as servants of the state on the other. Care must be taken that these people will arrive at a new conception of their social role."

"In the transition period between capitalism and socialism, the state will be preserved, but far reaching changes will take place at an ever-growing rate, the purpose of them being to give groups and collectives all the means to guarantee the maximum possible control over their interests. The principle of granting the right to decide to the nearest level to those concerned will be diligently maintained, attention being paid to the implications of the decisions on other sectors of the population. Supervisory services that must be present at the national level will also be managed differently, by guaranteeing that the men operating these services are elected by the various organisations (producers, consumers, districts) and are under the supervision of their electors." 221

Many organisations and spheres of activity that are now dependent on central state control (health, transportation, ecology) will be transferred to autonomous frames of two kinds -- sectoral and regional - local. The communities will be freed of their almost total dependence on the governmental mechanism. In large concentrations of population preference will be given to neighbourhood and sub-neighbourhood organisation. In all autonomous units democratic and secret elections will be held to determine the occupants of managerial and representational positions. Regions where the population mix is of ethnic or

religious minorities will enjoy maximal "rights to be different." 222

"France is the state of the commune. She must return to being the state of the communes. Daily life must be organised so that collective life units will be based on participation in production, education and personal advancement, health and so on. The population will not be divided between urbanites and rural villagers, but rather communes will form as the basic units.

"The forceful commune that will arise in the future will control its economic sources and the direction of labour. It will be managed by its people and will be liberated from the oppressive control of the state. This commune can be the cradle of new collective life.

"The daily life units which can become the managerial units, to the degree that they are based on people's will to live together, can form the place in which man is reunified." 223

The Liberation of Man

We quote from a speech by Mitterand: "L'homme n'est pas objet, il est sujet. Objet, nous en sommes là; sujet, ce sera nôtre conquête." 224

Relations between people, as between nations, are of a universal nature. "Le but du parti socialiste est de libérer la personne humaine de toutes les alienations qui l'oppriment." 225

"Capitalism turns the direct relationship between men into a relationship between slaves. The various frames of life, the man-nature relationship, sexuality, become, in the capitalist regime, relationships between commodities. Women, children, youth, artisans, various categories of human beings, fall victim to capitalist oppression and alienation. It is important to encourage the struggles of various sectors of the population in their attempt to be liberated from the depression that derives from the capitalist organisational form. The struggles of organisations such as neighbourhood committees, regional groups, consumer protection committees, women's groups, parents' associations, youth organisations, all in their battles for liberation are participating in the struggle for socialism." 226

"These struggles are a powerful means of bringing people gradually to discover themselves, their situation, their oppression and their alienation. We shall remove the mask from capitalism by revelation of their situation. People will discover the true state of their fellows, of society as a whole, and with that will blossom the will to rule their own affairs -- and that is self-management." 227

"We shall say, simply, that in the class society the concepts "alienation of existence" and "alienation of awareness" relate to a state in which man does not control the means for understanding and directing his destiny. The acquisition of that awareness is the acquisition of consciousness of alienation. This is victory over alienation...." 228

"Modern capitalism is characterised in a grand-scale development of commodity transfer processes. In that same process barriers are formed in the relations between people. More than in any other period, people are isolated and men are split. Apart from the division of labour in enterprises there is a deepening spatial division (town -village, home - work) and time division between activities. The development of the big cities tangibly demonstrates the divisions between social strata and the simultaneous split in the individual: worker, consumer, resident, man at leisure, father or mother, and so on."

"The freedoms are also undergoing a process of split, of automisation between personal rights and administrative rights. In practice these freedoms are arranged on a hierarchical ladder. In the frame of personal rights, that of property comes before the right to work. Acceptance of an order of priorities between individual freedoms, political or collective freedoms, means suppression of the basic freedoms, the most important is that of the group and the citizen." 229

"In real life, in his real freedom, the human being is not an isolated and lonely social atom. His life goes on in constant and close relations with other people. Since birth the individual is positioned in the structure of a certain society, his private life is the sum total of relations with others, studies, his work, entertainment, culture, relations with family and so on. "Change of life", for a man means, therefore, a change in the system of relationships between man and his fellows within society." 230

"Self-management is the way to reunify man, the way to grant him ability to be decisively himself. Each individual will be granted his real share of responsibility -- of the resident in his housing, of the citizen for

his neighbourhood, of the worker for his enterprise -- each with his place in the social conception." 231

And from a declaration of Socialist Party principles:

"Pour que l'homme soit libéré des alienations que lui impose la capitalisme, pour qu'il cesse de subir la condition d'objet que lui réservent les formes nouvelles de la capitalisme, il faut qu'il accède à la responsabilité dans les entreprises, dans les université, comme dans les collectivités a tous niveaux." 232

Education for Freedom

Capitalist society reproduces itself and its future in various educational actions. The child accepts as "normal" and "natural" the rules by which he will function in maturity, and the ladder of values accepted in his society. The cultural and economic values created through education form a system of mutual justification. Thus authoritative conditioning functions from childhood. Authoritarianism, dependence and guilt feelings are means by which parents may educate their children. The forms of exploitation and conformity that will defeat the individual have their source in the family as "accepted" today. Fear of the parents leaving, the fact that the social force in the family is vested in them alone, causes the children to feel themselves a minority lacking independence in the face of adults who form the majority. Man finds in the family the slavery that is in alienation. Thus, the patriarchal society prepares acceptance and integration into the social structure.

It is possible to find the effects of the alienated structure of the family in all spheres of life -- the enterprise, the trade union, university, church, school, party, army, hospital. In mutual interaction, the patriarchal social structures shape the way of life the family structures.

The only element that can bring man to psychological maturity

and social progress is the full activation by the individual of his social force. An integral part of this is the daily use of power to decide and to take on himself responsibility for his work, and responsibility for the institutions within which his life is managed. Authoritarian education attempts to preserve the infantile in the adult; decision-making activity and the taking of personal responsibility, on the other hand, will permit man to overcome this and to develop and put to work his capabilities.

In the socialist self-management society, the role of the school cannot be the socialisation of conformities, i.e., conditioning the youngster for authoritarianism. On the contrary, the pupils will be educated in a way that imposes on them, at a growing pace, scope and depth, responsibility for their own actions and for the collective of pupils.

The school will work towards making the children and youth aware and able to use their collective power. Together, teachers and pupils will integrate into the struggle to overcome alienation. ²³³

Only a change in the currently accepted power system in education can bring the gradual development of a school for individual independence and self-management.

School will no longer be a monopoly of teachers: self-management in the education system will bring all the components of education to a joint management of the educational activity. Teachers, educators, parents, pupils, will together determine the methods and content of educational study activity, through the definition of the objectives and the stages by which they are to be achieved. ²³⁴

Decision-making in the educational system must not be concentrated in the hands of "experts" alone -- a situation in which a minority makes decisions that concern the vast majority. Individual and collective creativity, in order to be realised,

demands freedom and that necessitates participation in decisions and the taking of responsibility. Only decentralisation of the administrative educational system, with the granting of autonomy to the various institutions and the participation of all interested parties in decisions, can bring the school to educate for freedom. Self-management in education is the best way to educate a society for self-management, and a society of self-management.²³⁵

The Way

The communist approach to the means for achievement of socialism is well-known. The communist party must take control of the state (by democratic means), and through political power, it will guide the working class in making the changes that will form the foundations of the transition period to socialism. The orderly transition to socialism, according to this approach, is conditional upon:

- a. nationalisation of the large and essential means of production, and of the finance and exchange system;
- b. achievement of full political control for the working class;
- c. orderly activity of the political party which is capable of playing the role of pioneer of the working class, while achieving support in the workers' struggle from peasants, intellectuals and the petit bourgeoisie. The party capable of doing this is the communist party.²³⁶

The socialists are highly critical of this approach. Their proposed route is in keeping with their declared objective. The socialist proposals for the building of transition to a socialist regime take into account that the road will be long and difficult. "We know that we shall not find straight and smooth ways of transit....We are not proposing to improve a certain regime, but to replace it by another..."²³⁷

Society is in a process of intensive and incessant change. The

impetus of technological progress confronts humanity with great dangers. Some of which derive from the ways and objectives of use of discoveries in nuclear science, biology and psychology. The socialists must, on the one hand, preserve constant and renewed contact with technical achievement and social change, and on the other hand, must protect the basic moral and ideological principles of the socialist idea.²³⁸

The new program (1972) opens the way to self-management. The idea is not just the final objective, a point of reference to be remember ritualistically, but one which supplies the means for its realisation.²³⁹

The idea of self-management propounded in 1972 is no more utopian than was the parliamentary state in Rousseau's time.²⁴⁰ One must grant the perspective of self-management its full depth and scope for it to serve as a base for the recruiting of the masses. For, to reach socialism means to realise the principle of self-management. If we grasp the concept in its correct scope, it is the supreme demand of socialism: constant struggle to place the entire society under its own control, while preventing this socialisation from resulting in the formation of bureaucratic dictatorship.

Though the ideal of self-management cannot be realised in the frame of capitalist society, it is already possible to activate the principle in various areas of life, thereby proving its vitality. New forms of management must begin in the family, neighbourhood and school, with the granting of responsibility for change in the content and style of human relations. New attempts must be made at collective life, at building communities. The principles can also be activated in political life: rotation of posts, diffusion of responsibility, supervision in the hands of a wide public, autonomy to basic units -- and many additional steps -- will all advance the subject.

The principles of the existing regime act and are reflected in the organisations and cells of life. The principles of social-

ism will be more credible if they will be activated in practice in the various frames of life.²⁴¹

"It may be said that the Socialist Party, after its acceptance of Changez La Vie in 1972, concentrated its aspirations and demands on three key concepts: nationalisation, planning and self-management. For socialists these three are inseparable. Each is conditional upon and conditions the other two." ²⁴²

The struggle for realisation of these objectives goes on in different ways, with different tools. In trade unions, worker's committees, consumer's committees, movements with ecological principles, in the struggle against technologies that deepen the dehumanisation in work -- all these, and others, are struggles for the achievement of changes, and which in their entirety form the road to socialism.²⁴³

Nationalisation, in general, must be understood as public control of the means of production. This is an essential precondition for reforming the structure of the regime. This is a general concept, and the explanation is general. Many questions are still open, and it is only in these ways that socialism succeeds in clarifying a number of basic matters. It is clear to us that the state must supervise, for example, the pharmaceutical and armament industries. But we have not concluded for ourselves, for example, how to behave with regard to plants such as those which deal with water supply -- autonomy, municipal or central control? The subject is open to discussion as is the decision -- and many others.²⁴⁴

It is clear to all, that, by definition, it is not possible to institute self-management in plants belonging to others, from which it follows that self-management cannot be spoken of within the structure of private capital. To that same degree, nationalisation is not an objective in its own right since it does not guarantee, of itself, changes in the division of labour, and is therefore not immune to the danger of appearance of a new hierarchy.²⁴⁵

Within the trade unions the socialists are attempting to explain and persuade that a struggle to increase incomes is not enough, since by nature that struggle integrates one into the existing regime. The struggle must be for the elimination of all forms of exploitation and oppression, and that will be achieved when man will attain control over his work, its fruits and aims.²⁴⁶ The implication is that emphasis must be on more vigorous demands of the "qualitative" kind. Those that relate to the division of time and the quality of life in its entirety. Thus, the class front is from the defensive anti-monopolist to the offensive anti-capitalist in all its battles.

Attainment of a majority in government is not the goal of the regime. Socialists, sitting in the presidential palace or being a parliamentary majority, will still be opposed in society. Socialist forces, behaviour, and ways of thought will still be in the minority.

The state machinery is active not only in the police and army. It penetrates the school, cultural activity, communications, plants, offices....In all these the struggle must go on to achieve change that will bring about the replacement of capitalism by socialism.²⁴⁷

The idea of self-management affects the internal organisation of the Socialist Party. It must abstain from a situation that grants preferred positions to a minority of political activists, in that this minority is likely to impose its will on the working masses.

Within the Party there will be meticulous internal democracy. At any price the Party must avoid concentration of control. The Party must see itself as responsible for the struggle on the political front. This is one struggle among many others, which will be waged autonomously by many organisations. Their mutual relations with the Party are based on equality and mutual respect.

P O R T U G A L -- S O C I A L I S M O F S E L F - M A N A G E M E N T

Preliminary Remarks

The ideas of the Portugese socialists are very similar to those of the French. I attempted to examine the link between the two parties, but could not discern one. If there is an European party that encourages and assists them, then it is first and foremost the German Social Democrats, and secondly, the Swedish Social Democrats.

Of the 15 central activists that I met, six had received a "French education" and had been in France while the socialism of self-management was taking shape there. The 1968 involvement of the "New Left" made a deep impression on them. The Portugese Socialist Party is (as far as I know) the only one to refer to its links with the New Left in official, principle resolutions of its congresses, as for example, the following quote shows:

"The Socialist Party follows keenly and values the importance of the attempts being made by the communist parties that intend to respect the values of democratic socialism. The Party values the importance of the contribution to the socialist movement by innovative sectors of the New Left." 249

It is interesting to note that, out of a bibliography of 26 books that deal with "Contemporary Socialist Theories", they list 12 by French theoriticians -- and all those that deal with "self-management" are recent translations into Portugese from French. 250

I shall not attempt to summarise the developments of events in 20th century Portugese history, though their relevance for the understanding of the "Portugese Revolution" is should be noted. I shall only make a number of comments on actual data which I collected on my visits to Portugal. This data includes

material from conversations and from the daily press. The idea of self-management is not "theoretical" in Portugal, as it is among French socialists. It is rather a live system which is used and , in most cases, is failing. It is possible to discern enthusiasm for the idea, but with many reservations stemming from experiments that have been disappointing. This can also be felt in the party publications. The socialists are in power and -- being responsible for the management of affairs -- one detects a certain caution in their phrasing of "contentions of revolutionary content". The ideas of direct democracy, elimination of the state, autonomy to the basic production units -- all are present and serve as a base for the socialist ideal, yet in these as in other aspects, the style of people in the operative positions is balanced and careful.

The socialists are under pressure from the communists to carry out reforms and give benefits to workers. Yet, on the other hand, the middle-of-the-road parties are pressing for "rapid corrections of the mistakes of the revolution", which could bring the country to economic catastrophe.

The argument over bureaucracy cannot be separated from the struggle between socialists and communists. I will therefore, briefly note that data that seems important to me for a correct understanding of those aspects which I will be presenting. For everything connected with the history of Portugal and the revolutions of recent years, I would refer those who are interested to Prof. Hersgur's book on Portugal -- a book which helped me to achieve a relatively fast understanding of actual political matters during my visit to the country.²⁵²

The inhabitants of Portugal are in a state of "anonymity" resulting from their inability to adapt to democratic political activity after so long a period of dictatorship -- from May 26, 1926 to April 25, 1974.

The new revolutionary regime liberated the Portugese colonies in Africa, hastily. This caused the panic-stricken return to Portugal of close to a million people who, at the end of 1976, were still in hotels at the expense of the state, with no employment in view. That was but one small aspect of the far-reaching changes instituted in Portugal since April 1974 -- changes that took place while the government was unable to prepare properly. Sixty-five percent of the economy -- including basic production plants, industries, hotels, tourist companies, essential services, banks and insurance companies -- were nationalised in a highly accelerated process. In fact, there is no large enterprise still in private hands.

The revolutionary process has been expressed in every sphere of life -- workplaces, homes, schools, public services and universities. The nation, the "workers", were called upon to take over "everything", and -- the former owners having fled Portugal -- in many cases the transition was unplanned and straight from capitalist corporation to self-management. Restaurants, hotels and hundreds of small plants renewed their operations under the management of general meetings and "executive committees" elected by them.

In southern Portugal the agricultural workers (organised in a communist controlled labour union), seized lands and set up a dense chain of agricultural cooperatives. Administration in some of the small towns and neighbourhoods broke down, to be replaced by "inhabitants' committees" that were chosen at general meetings.

Students took over universities and dismissed most of the teachers left over from the era of dictatorship. New administrations were elected by general meetings of students and teachers, and student's committees supervised the teacher's work.

From an ideological viewpoint, a serious argument is brewing between socialists and communists who would prefer a Soviet

model. In this latter, managerial councils would receive instructions directly from the unions, which are guided by the Communist Party centre. The socialists emphasise in their ideological publications, their drive to create a democratic structure, based on the autonomy of the basic production units and local housing units according to an overall plan run with government supervision.

The argument becomes more complex in southern Portugal, where the communists -- who are in control -- argue that they are using self-management in the agricultural cooperatives and in the entire Alentejo province. The socialists retort that the Communist Party and the trade unions under its control use "anti-democratic manipulation" in the general meetings of agricultural workers. The democracy is indeed direct, and the peasants are deciding cropping, investment, housing and political-ideological decisions of various kinds.

If the socialists argue for self-management, and the communists are doing just that, then what is the argument about? The socialists say that the meetings are held at irregular hours, and late into the night; the unions send experienced speakers, and these and other stratagems make this so-called direct democracy problematic. The debate tangles up in "political pragmatism", and it is no longer easy to discern the essentials.

The universities have not yet returned to serious studies, and there are meetings, arguments, slogans and clashes between groups of students and with their teachers. Self-management in the universities is encountering complex problems of order, discipline, especially in the giving of marks and the awarding of degrees (the students themselves supervise the giving of marks).

The representatives of various countries and regimes are in Portugal, trying to forge economic, cultural and ideological links with the new regime. Social democrats from the West, Yugoslavs, Rumanians, Soviets and Americans are all trying to

persuade and to acquire preferred positions.

In no uncertain terms the socialists declare their trend to Europisation -- meaning entry into the EEC, attracting private capital for joint ventures with government, inviting experts, technicians and technocrats from the West. The Socialist Party governs with a minority, and relies on communist fears of coalition with the right-wing, and the fears of the two liberal parties that they might align with the communists. To quote prof. Guidino, lecturer in history at Lisbon University:

"The Portugese have not yet managed to define their own situation. Everyone wants change, fast and fundamental change. Everyone wants to change ---but which way? People do not want to return to the past, but have not succeeded (or not yet managed) to invent their future." 253

That, in brief, is the background. Now, to examine the publications of the Portugese Socialist Party -- the link between alienation in capitalism and self-management is the starting point, background and conclusion all in one. At its congress, the Party declared:

"The prime target of the Socialist Party is the building of a society in which the workers will be full partners in its management, the regime will express the desires of the citizens and the culture will express the creative abilities of the masses. The new society will not be based on wage or profit, on the alienation of work, or on the alienation of awareness of control by the commercial protagonist. Marxism will form theoretical inspiration, in a constant process of thought and re-creation, and will never be used as a dogmatic system."

In Portugal, as in France, there was the feeling of a new creation in socialist thought:

"Though there is considerable backwardness in Portugal, in various aspects, we shall not copy the "socio-technical" models of the developed countries, which have not succeeded in placing their technique at the service of the workers. We, the Portugese socialists, will be able to innovate and contribute to the socialist movement in the world. We shall be able

to offer new solutions in various fields such as work conditions, quality of life and ecology, which form the central axis of construction of the new society." 254

"We are witnessing that modern technological development brings destruction of the natural environment necessary for balanced human existence and that human beings are tense, tired and often the victims of neuroses.

"The capitalist regimes, and the socialists, have not solved the integrated problem of good material conditions and liberty, despite the fact that society has never had more appropriate tools for the attainment of these objectives.

"Conversely, minorities (be they capitalists or totalitarians of the left) have never had at their disposal such effective means for the imposing of their wills on the masses and the preservation of the private interests of the ruling groups. The entire population is catalogued and arranged in the memories of computers that serve the central regime." 255

"The realisation of the self-management system in all spheres of activity in society assumes the existence of a democratic structure in which people participate directly. By means of activation of the democratic system, the various models of self-management will be created and will acquire sophistication, and thus socialist society will be built.

"For that purpose general meetings of workers will be established at the local level in order to guarantee maximum participation. Only rational, dynamic and non-centralised structures will be appropriate to our demands." 256

"We will erect an organism for planning which will guarantee the full participation of the population at the regional and spatial-professional level. These planning institutions will begin with preparations to encourage medium-term planning." 257

"The organism that plans and executes the plan must enjoy managerial and economic autonomy. The workers in these institutions will not be able to participate fully in the execution of the plan if they do not control their own institutions by the will of those who work in them." 258

Decentralisation means to initiate and make use of the creative potential of the various places. The recruitment of the masses for the execution of general tasks will be based on people taking responsibility for their destiny. They will acquire

know-how and experience, thus allowing maximum rapprochement between the individual and the development of his society. Decentralisation is the way to ensure the efficiency and sensitivity of the central plan. Without decentralisation, a bureaucratic plan can be effective in suppression, but is not suited to activity based on democracy and direct and willing participation of the citizens. Decentralisation creates a living, dynamic plan sensitive to feed-back from the population, and to the true needs of that population. Central services and the decision system must be decentralised. That is a move of social justice, of national unity, of equality, of encouragement and use of the sources at the disposal of the state.

Self-management will develop gradually in the enterprises, agricultural areas and towns. Emphasis must be placed on the need for constant coordination between the non-centralised management and the central plans. This coordination will be ensured by the active participation of the workers in the formulation of the general plan. Planning does not contradict self-management; on the contrary, democratic planning, decentralisation, and self-management are three different aspects of the process of socialisation.

Municipalisation forms a central facet in the aforementioned process. This is an important and effective solution in many spheres of activity, such as building, water, transportation and development of public institutions, thereby blocking the danger of over-centralisation and bureaucratisation. Municipalisation will ensure the rise of strong, independent units, which will in turn ensure that each district will take responsible care of its own development.

The political and legal awareness of the truth of democratic representation must be declared and officially recognised as guaranteeing the participation of the workers in the management of their enterprises.

These managerial and representational means will ensure the workers control over their enterprises in all spheres of management -- manpower, technical, economic and commercial. The objective of the above development is to reach full realisation of the self-management system.²⁵⁹

"Internal democracy in the self-management of the trade unions will be ensured. They will be managed completely independent of employers, parties and religious organisations. The organisation of the trade union will merge national representation by specific professions of the workers, with total representation by the work place of the workers." ²⁶⁰

The dangers of bureaucratisation are to be prevented at all cost while implementing the plan for agrarian reform. The land owners must on no account be replaced in the management of the cooperatives by governmental or party bureaucracy. The agrarian reform will attempt to prevent the expansion of the stratum of small landowners. Ecological problems will be an integral part of the activities of the agrarian reform.²⁶¹

An interesting problem which the Portugese socialists are confronting is the degree and form of self-management within government offices and institutions and public services under the control of the state. Is it at all possible? Should government services be handed over to self-management? Government institutions are supposed to be general. Can they be put under the control of a certain group, even if that group is composed of the workers in the general institution?

Within the general strategy of socialisation, and despite the complex problems facing the government, the production system is not as problematic because it will be managed on the responsibility of its workers after the production schedule and distribution of income and investment have been coordinated in a national plan. It is clear to the Socialist Party that the state (government) mechanisms must be prevented from gaining control over the plants by means of forming a "national capitalism". ²⁶²

"The self-management that we support cannot be maintained in a frame of political bureaucracy. We must prevent decisions from being made by professional bureaucrats. Should that happen, the complex national organisations will gain control and sometimes strangle the desires of the autonomous organisations of workers."²⁶³

If this is so, then how will the government institutions in which the professional bureaucrats work be managed? I found a number of proposed solutions to this problem:

One solution was to reduce the planning and coordination of bureaucratic burdens by expanding and deepening decentralisation and autonomy. It was argued that because of centralisation, these institutions were, at present, bloated. Let us take a few examples:

Universities are presently managed by centralised techniques. A complex bureaucratic mechanism participates in their management from within government. With the granting of autonomy to the universities, the governmental mechanism will be considerably reduced. Full autonomy means that the economic, academic and manpower policies will be managed by university personnel themselves. Moreover, the universities will participate actively in governmental research, planning, and supervision in various fields and at various levels of involvement. Thus the mechanism will not need to service (manage) the universities.

Another example is the diffusion of responsibility for social and ecological services to regions and districts. This, again, achieves a double saving: the central mechanism will be reduced and the district activities, replacing previously centralised services, will effect a further reduction.²⁶⁴

"Public services are undergoing and will undergo decentralisation and will be self-managed. Health services will be managed by the workers in them, while elected representatives of the users of the services will participate in the management of their institutions."²⁶⁵

At the national congress of state and public institution

employees, where the Socialist Party was in the majority, a decision was taken to implement self-management in government ministries and other central public institutions.

"Public services are unsuited to autocratic management. We must ensure the election of select committees of employees in the ministries. Our objective is to reach a general structure of self-management within the ministries and the public services in their entirety. The worker's organisations will intervene directly in the organisation and management of the government mechanism." 266

How do the Portugese socialists define self-management?

"It is a form of organisation and management in which authority is employed by all those who have a share in the social activity. This is not a new form of collective egotism activated in echelons close to the individual. Since all citizens have a share in appropriate and regular country-wide activity, care must be taken to ensure that all the citizens will have a share in the general country-wide organisation.

"Self-management is a form of criticism of capitalist society. It is a total criticism having a view of the distress of man in all fields of life -- family, neighbourhood, school and enterprise.

"Self-management is the critical analysis of all forms of alienation and control. It is the imposition of responsibility on all the collectives and criticism of what is being done and activity to change it.

"It is important to distinguish between the various levels of worker participation in the management of enterprises. The possibilities are many, and may be categorised in brief:

- a. unilateral decisions taken by the employers.
- b. supply of information. The employer transfers to the workers information on what is happening in the enterprise, with the intent of increasing their interest in the various systems of the enterprise.
- c. consultation. At this level there is the beginning of exchange between management and workers. The workers express opinions. The decision remains in the hands of the employer.
- d. participation in decision (codecisao) which is a real division of responsibility, the assumption being that the enterprise is maintained by capital and labour.

- e. supervision, which grants the workers a right of veto in certain aspect. In this method, which at first sight seems tolerable to the workers, they have considerable power in that they can paralyse any initiative of the employer which seems contrary to their interest. The decision-making initiative is solely in the hands of the employer.
- f. self-management is the highest level of worker participation in management. It is the replacement of the presently accepted system by another. The power of the managers is entirely transferred to the workers. Such a level of participation can only be realised in the frame of a socialist method in all of society." 267

"In the struggle to eliminate the political power, the method of representative democracy must be limited as far as possible. It is only by minimalisation of transfer of authority to representatives that the government mechanism can be prevented from being concentrated in the hands of a certain party. The authority of the workers to act directly in control of their state has to be guaranteed. The conditions are to be created whereby all the dualism accepted in capitalist society will be ended. The worker's meetings will have direct responsibility in all decisions and in cases where representatives are elected to various committees, it will be possible to revoke the power of attorney granted to them whenever the general meeting deems fit." 268

"Direct democracy means that the legislative and executive authority will be under the supervision and control of the citizens. The significant is that there is a limit to the number of participants in the frame of which it is possible to implement the method without danger of distortion. In an organisation of 500 people or more, the general meeting will become a propaganda session rather than a legislative body or one of decision. It is an illusion to think that the general meeting automatically forms an institution for all....." 269

"A system must be built in which worker's committees and resident's committees will manage the affairs of the people, under constant and direct supervision. As much as is possible, we must avoid returning to a situation of political alienation as emanates from the demand of certain parties: "give us more than 51% of the votes and we will give you socialism".

"Though it is not possible to toally prevent a certain degree of alienation, for direct democracy beyond a certain limit becomes paralysed and paralyses democracy.....care must be used to balance various forces as, for example, when the trade union balances the power of the parliament...." 270

In a socialist society, where profit has ceased to be the basic objective, the worker will not be a victim of productivism. Production will be defined according to collective needs.²⁷¹

"Local and national-professional trade unions, consumer organisations, agriculturists, service workers -- all will organise as production mechanisms, so that the entire economic system will operate by self-management. ...The government will gradually transfer to cooperatives and autonomous production mechanisms a part of the activities at present carried out within the governmental economic system." ²⁷²

"The autonomous plants, in self-management, will be subject to a minimal degree of coordination within the general national plan. They will be able to choose on the open market suppliers and customers. The social supervision of production will be executed in a country-wide policy of prices and wages, of investment, of research and by a posteriore supervision by means of a unified system of accounting." ²⁷³

The national plan will take care of gradual achievement of equality between the various districts. This striving for equality will be guaranteed by gradual regulation of the resources for the development of backward areas.²⁷⁴

"We aspire to a new civilisation, the meaning of which is a new society, a new culture. This civilisation is attainable within a planned economy, which is the only thing capable of overcoming man's alienation; a planned socialist economy comprising basic, independent economic units that are managed democratically. It is important that we understand that an independent economic unit does not work solely for the benefit of those who work in it. The same kind of independence cannot be granted to the branch of a bank and to a group contracting to maintain railway tracks in a certain area. We must understand that self-management is a principle that cannot be activated as a single model." ²⁷⁵

"From the viewpoint of society it is not possible to separate the work of one man from that of the others. To the same degree it is not possible to separate between personal decisions and those that are collective." ²⁷⁶

"The capitalist enterprise does not succeed in overcoming absenteeism, given the worker's lack of interest in the production of the plant. We must strive for

the creation of a self-discipline in people who choose it of their own free will. We cannot use suppression of the workers in order to achieve the plant' objectives." 277

"The socialist economic plan is not limited to quantitative aspects. The technique in work and its organisation must contribute to the professional and cultural development of the worker, and thus he will gradually be brought to liberation from the constraints dictated by productive work. To achieve this purpose, we must carefully choose the means by which we develop our economy. If we do not wish to contradict the humanist nature of the socialist plan, the production methods needed for desirable economic development from the viewpoint of its human implications at work will be thoroughly examined in each plant and planning institution, and at all levels." 278

"Socialisation of the means of production is an essential condition, yet an insufficient one to change the ways of capitalist production. Together with it, all production in all its aspects -- organisation, management and human relations -- must be changed. Labour, in the socialist ideal, is the expression of man's personality. Society's control over the means of production will be meaningful if man, every individual in the whole of society, will be able to achieve congruency between the operations of production and of creativity." 279

"Self-management will not be able totally to cancel the division of labour and the functionality of responsible positions. Therefore there must be rotation in all aspects. Every worker, if that be his desire, will be able to work in all the steps of the production process, so that he will be better acquainted and will better identify with the entire work process." 280

"Socialism has no interest in developing production as an objective in itself. Enlargement and development of the production system must serve man. The aim of socialism is, therefore, the happiness of people and the quality of life. For this purpose, a balanced and egalitarian participation of the various districts and communities is needed. To achieve full expression of the human potential in everything, we must strive for communities of multi-faceted activity, in which each member will find his way of expression. We must make sure that, in the communities, there will be organic integration of industry, agriculture and various services." 281

"We must insure a new balance between man and nature by combatting the anti-human organisation of the big city. In harming nature man harms himself. We must return to ecological stability based on biological balance,

while granting central preference to landscapes which are an essential aesthetic and cultural factor in social life. That will necessitate urban planning directed by the above principles, and gradual distribution of the population between the various districts." 282

"Balance between man and nature, the egalitarian development of other areas, assumes a balance and coordination between various interests, approaches and institutions. Any elite, of any kind, must be prevented from concentrating powers of decision in its hands. The central executive mechanisms must be balanced in terms of the representation of various sectors. Only multi-sided and multi-field representation will prevent the alienation of parliamentary political life as it is today.

"In a society of self-management, it is important that, at all levels, a free system in which various pressures meet, will operate. The central administrative system will operate when contrapoderes (a system of power and anti-power) will be found in cooperatives, communities and all echelons of the administration." 283

"Elimination of man's alienation by his fellow will arrive with the gradual reduction of the governmental mechanism and gradual moderation of its power, till we reach a situation in which the state is cancelled as redundant. It is important that in the stages of transfer to socialism, the government mechanism will cease to be an alien body living off the worker's labour. Moderation of the central administration will be created out of a process of decentralisation of management and the granting of autonomy to the various units." 284

The guaranteeing of a human dimension to central management is conditional upon the shaping of relatively small autonomous units in which that human dimension is preserved. The only way to ensure this is by taking care to keep the small units established by society within a reasonable size. A limited number of participants is the only way to ensure the effective participation of the individual in the life of his society. 285

"Socialism will place man at the centre of the world, and for this end the capitalist logic will be replaced by socialist humanism. The significance of this is that we refuse to sacrifice the private happiness of man for the sake of more suplime objectives, no matter what they be -- and this because the happiness of the individual is the supreme objective of socialism. Personal happiness means the realisation of individual potential of every person, and it is only in this

context that collective objectives can be understood. The struggle for socialism is, above all, a moral commandment." 286

This moral commandment demands the preparation of a new man capable of living in socialist society.

"The socialist society will obligate a new culture that demands reshaping of people. We want a society of free people, who participate critically in the activities of their society. This requires an educational system that will foster intellectual independence, creativity and a spirit of cooperation. The curriculum of studies must be reexamined and changed at all levels. New methods of educational management must be built in order to make the most of abilities of both teachers and pupils." 287

We shall present a number of resolutions passed by the Socialist Party congress:

"The purpose of education is to prepare a man who is ready to intervene creatively in the processes of society, so that he may control his life systems and be responsible for them. The school will not be able to shape humanists divorced from reality or, to the same degree, technicians without a human dimension. The socialist society needs constant integration of technological development under the guidance of humanist values. Education must be integrated so that it will carry out spiritual, artisan, physical -training, entertainment, cultural and creative art activities. The teacher will function as moderator, while the pupil will be permitted to select the emphases he prefers within his studies. Awareness of society and cooperation between pupils will be an integral part of education. Education will be simultaneously individualistic and collectivist (individualisant e socialisante). Within the school there will be free criticism and expression of opinions. The educators will endeavour to develop the curiosity of their pupils while combatting trends of intellectual introversion and of dogmatism. These are only guidelines. Educational programmes will not be permanent and unchangeable, and they will be adapted to the needs and the desires of the people. The schools will be run by self-management. Each school will be autonomous, and managed by cooperation of teachers, pupils and parents." 288

"Capitalism proved that it has considerable ability to adapt to changing conditions. It is capable of integration of most of the workers' demands. For a long time the socialist movements have been seeking a certain type

of demands that would break through the capitalist system's integration process. This is a search without purpose. Capitalism is a coherent system, and there is no point in trying to construct out of the contradictions that form within it in the hope that it will "explode". There is no avoiding its replacement by another method, another logic -- socialism."²⁸⁹

The governmental mechanism is a decisive factor in modern industrial society. In its hands are concentrated economic, planning and coordination powers, investment policy and the capability to execute activity in many spheres of production and services. We must ensure that this governmental mechanism will also be self-managed. Autonomy must be granted to the various components, the various units of the administration. The free flow of information and freedom of expression of opinions must be ensured within the governmental system.

It is a mistake to believe that the state is the government. The state is a complex structure of institutions and organisations which, in their interaction, form the "governmental mechanism". Workers' control over the government will not be workers' control over the state. Thus the governmental mechanism must be handed to those who work in it, in the frame of a national plan that directs all activity in the state, including that of government.²⁹⁰

Since it is clear that reforms to create self-management must be carried out immediately in the public organisation, care must be taken that in areas which are unsuited at this stage to a full replacement of the managerial system, the changes will be gradual. The granting of control and responsibility to workers will slowly be achieved, until the goal of full managerial autonomy is reached.²⁹¹

"One of the foundations of the socialist society is the cooperative. The cooperative system answers the requirements of the self-management principle. In various spheres it is immediately possible to set about the creation of cooperatives, in commerce, transportation, mutual economic assistance, fishing, construction, domestic services (laundries, creches) and

many others. The government will see to the creation of convenient economic conditions for the development of the cooperatives by means of a credit and tax policy. The Socialist Party sees the founding of cooperatives as an absolutely voluntary act. It is a right, not an obligation. The cooperatives will win their place in society, and their supremacy, by their work and by their success." 292

And as one of the workers' leaders says, it is not easy to move to a new system:

"In my opinion, the workers themselves must decide their future. The problem is that, at first, it is easier for us to transfer our authority and responsibilities to some central committee of the trade unions or party. This process of alienation, of moving away from responsibility, leads to totalitarianism. It is a centralist idea (dirigista) which must be combatted by the granting of autonomy to places, plants and departments. The labour offices, the trade unions and the party must shun authoritarian and paternalistic positions." 293

"Self-management means a change in the behaviour pattern of people. Such a change cannot come by edict. We must begin changing behaviour here and now, in the political parties, the trade unions, the government, everywhere. Only in this way will the concept of self-management be meaningful in our society."

"We want there to be a struggle for self-management. We must hand the struggle over to the workers themselves, and not try to do it for them. Whosoever wants self-management will have to strive for it through self-management itself." 294

C O N C L U S I O N

The fact that I began my examination of the idea of alienation in its historical development with Rousseau is not an attempt to place the birth date of the idea. Its ethical and aesthetic roots are to be found in various sources in modern Western culture. Rousseau, particularly in his work...l'origine et les fondements de inégalité..., created a background on which the idea of alienation could be developed. On the one side he poses the ideal of man, and on the other, man as he lives in the given society in a process of increasing modernisation.

Man and his distress in industrial society, is viewed through the category of alienation. Alienation exists in society since it is alienated eyes that look at society. Rousseau equated the "split" of man with the beginning of history.

Hegel and Marx attempted to restore man to an ideal unity, as an historical possibility (or absolute necessity) for the future. Contemporary existentialists leave man caught between alienation and wholeness, as a condition humaine. The social theorists, H. Marcuse and E. Fromm add the need for unity to a list of man's primary needs.

Despite many attempts to prove that the idea of alienation bridges the gap between the desirable and the existing, and those proponents of these claims who argue that what needs to be changed in society derives from the situation of society, it is permissible to say that the idea of alienation, rather than cancelling out the gap, expresses its existence. It is comfortable for us to assume with the existentialist that in our awareness the quest for wholeness is conditional on our incompleteness.

The theories of alienation describe a certain state of affairs after making normative assumptions about man and society. These normative assumptions may be understood as a system of

ethical contentions, as an anthology of assumptions, or as an advance commitment to established theories. In any event, the idea of alienation is the one through which social phenomena are examined. Like other categories through which one sees, the assumptions of alienation are unseen, are transparent for many of those who use them. Their sincere contentions concerning the existence of alienation in society, seems to me to derive from this transparency.

The objectivity of the idea of alienation is no longer in doubt. As a philosophical idea which has swept the masses, as a political-ideological slogan, as an "ideal model" in scientific research, as a Nisbet-type "unit idea" in sociology, in artistic creativity -- it may be said that the idea of alienation, with all its fuzziness and lack of clarity, forms one of the components of zeitgeist.

A value system can be meaningful for society provided that a certain tradition has shaped it -- and this remains true for a value system that stands at the background of revolutionary objectives. No matter what the significance of a value system, it assumes pragmatic elements, if and when, it is intensively used as a tool of ideological struggle. Political pragmatism and a system of values meet and cooperate in the ideological sphere -- a cooperation that brings both components to influence the other. Objectives become means, and means become objectives. The political activity is, to a degree, guided by these values, but the "ideas" are no longer "pure", having descended to the world of reality where they are assessed for their "realism" and "efficacy". The idea of alienation becomes an ideology.

From the viewpoint of the internal logic of the socialist utopia based on self-management, democratic values, diligent preservation of the individual's rights and liberties, seem to be an integral and essential part of its entire approach. On the other hand, one cannot ignore the dangers that derive from "global views". Global utopian views that try to

criticise and change life in its entirety, are likely to find themselves in a cul-de-sac, unable to convince the "adversary", and finally becoming intolerant of him.

If it be correct that, in the event of debate between the utopians of alienation and their opponents, agreement is needed for assessment and judgement in order to permit consensus on the facts -- then we find that rational argument is in itself incapable of solving this problem. Luckily, in the case of alienation in modern society, there is a wide consensus on a series of phenomena that accompany the development of industrial society. The disagreement is manifested in the evaluation of these phenomena, and in the use of these and other concepts. The argument is sharp, yet it seems to me that at this stage it is run along rational lines, while the political implications are open for inspection and selection by all.

I do not want to ignore the danger that argument between different approaches in this sphere will be similar to those between the holders of different religious beliefs. It is important that we all be awake to the danger that there is some link between a cognitive totalism and totalitarian approaches. The perspective that views the entire social reality through one integrative idea is likely to have difficulty in reconciling itself to a pluralistic reality, where contradictory ideas may play a central role. It may be that the advantage to there being utopians on the political front, lies in the possibility of constructing minimal agreement between the utopians and their opponents on the definition of the distresses as "facts", and on the order of priorities for solving these problems. Agreement on the elimination or easing of distress could be accepted by all sides as realistic -- without there being agreement on the final objectives.

In the tradition of the idea of alienation itself there are elements that will facilitate rational communication with other streams. The Hegelian tradition allows a negative evaluation

of an existing situation that permits components of this situation to continue into a next stage. In this tradition, criticism and negation form part of praxis, of the social reality, and promise the transition to a new situation which does not eliminate the previous one, but rather cancels it, incorporating old forms as an integral part of the new. It is interesting to note that, among the socialists of alienation, I found many who, in principle, refuse to construct a closed utopian system. They do not want to construct their utopia in precise minute detail, or to "invent" their complete future. Their emphasis is place on what they do not want to exist in the social world. Clearly, they do not want capitalist alienation, yet they are not prepared, other than on sweeping ideal lines, to paint their desired society. Such decisions must remain in the hands of the people who live the distress, and may not be taken by a small group of the informed who decide what is distress, and how to resolve it.

Since the 1960's, the concept of alienation has been in the forefront of the political battlefield. The New Left, the 1968 disturbances in France, various groups of intellectuals in Eastern and Western Europe, the "humanist Marxists", the attempts at mixing existentialism and Marxism, anti-establishment youth cultures -- all these and their direct political interests, have turned the alienation idea into a banner for political activity. The French Socialist Party Platform of 1972, began a process of the institutionalisation of the idea into established political systems. Various events in Portugal linked the fact of the concept of alienation (and self-management) to that of the Portuguese Socialist Party. In the social-democratic movements of Western Europe, and among non-conformist communist intellectuals in Eastern Europe, there is a growing ideological link between alienation, and socialism as the form of society to overcome it.

From the viewpoint of the socialist movement in their historical development, certain ideological changes have taken place which might very well be examined in the context of

development of the concept of alienation. A few examples:

- a. a renewed link is forming between the central socialist ideas in Europe and certain components of anarcho-syndicalist ideas. For example, there is a noticeable demand for the creation of a society of "some disorder" based on spontaneity and creativity, in place of the previous call for "socialist order" instead of "capitalist disorder".
- b. in the capitalist versus socialist argument, the customary emphasis was on macro-problems. In the "new front" supported by the concept of alienation, the emphasis is on micro-problems. Criticism of capitalism is here based on psychological data of the individual's bad feeling. The socialist utopia puts its emphasis on the "good feeling" of each and every man -- on his happiness.
- c. the self-management model forms at one and the same time, a utopian objective and the exclusive means by which to progress towards that objective. This is a great change from the idea of dictatorship leading to democracy -- an ideological change with interesting and important moral implications.
- d. the self-management concept, and its economic, organisational and human success, can be carried out in limited scale and, in principle, may be realised on a voluntary basis. The establishment of kibbutz, communes, cooperatives, participation in the industrial plant, managerial changes in region and district -- all are possible for those who want to realise the idea. The possibility for carrying out changes in the social system without political means and coercion, is a reasonable one in alienation utopias.
- e. other socialist utopias have encountered difficulties in that they could not make voluntary changes before changing man; generations must be educated in the light of this new idea. Then it will be possible to base society on a regime of voluntarism. It is possible to think of changes in the direction of self-management as changes in the managerial system of various organisations. These

are changes in social institutions that do not necessarily assume prior change in man's awareness. It is possible to think of a "better system" with the same human beings. This change also has interesting moral and political implications.

I end my work, yet do not conclude it. Maybe the idea of alienation does not call for proof or refutation, but it still undoubtedly calls for trial and selection.

A P P E N D I X : S Y N O P S I S O F M.A.-THESIS
(submitted in Hebrew), Tel Aviv - University, November, 1974.

This paper does not presume to add to the numerous disserations written on the subject of alienation in Marx's doctrine. It is not an attempt to develop and examine this concept systematically from various points of view as they were proposed by different philosophers. That is why I qhote extracts concerning the concept of alienation in Rousseau's philosophy. I discuss alienation and history in Hegel's dialectial thinking and I have chosen the concept of man's existential alienation in Sartre's later doctrine. One of the central chapters in the paper treats alienation in the work process as it is perceived in the philosophy of contemporary thinkers like Marcuse and Fromm. All this belongs to the background of the central theme of the paper, which is the concept of alienation in Marx' theory. In the summation I discuss a possibility of overcoming alienation, or, in other words, the possibility of attaining human liberty.

In the opening chapter I try to clarify the problems involved in translating the concept of alienation from its German source and to prove by quoting from different periods in Marx' philosophy, that irrespective of whether there was or there was not a continuity in the theory of the young and the mature Marx, the concept of alienation is of central interest in all of his philosophy, though in the later years the precise term "alienation" rarely appears.

The second chapter concentrates on the similarity between the views of Rousseau and Marx. This affinity is expressed by their manner of putting forward the question of human evolution and in their general criticism of the condition of man in society. In the opinion of both philosophers man becomes enslaved in the same way that he becomes free. By imposing his will on nature, he imposes it on his own character as well. Nature, society, and man himself, are then perceived by him as

alienated entities. Both philosophers view man in an historical perspective in which man is examined in his evolution: the historical man is bound to aims and needs which are being created in the course of the development of civilization. Both voice severe criticism of a social morality, which is man's creation, but which also damages his humanity. Rousseau emphasises the role of human civilisation in setting apart man from his very nature. In his theory he puts forward a mode for human existence that insists on man's original capacity to continue perfecting himself. According to Marx, it is praxis alone that makes man. The abstract morality in Rousseau's thought is substituted by Marx for the image of man as a product of the history of praxis. What seems to Rousseau voluntary human association, Marx considers an objective material association. Hence, Marx' search for objective material solutions to the very torments that both thinkers regarded as inseparable from human civilization.

In the third chapter a comparison is drawn between the concepts of alienation and history in Hegel and in Marx. Both Hegel and Marx perceive man's alienation historically and emphasise its inseparability from human evolution over the course of generations. Both regard history as human history, revealing in its process the anthropological essence of the world of nature. This is an historical world, containing everything that human civilisation has stamped upon it: and projecting, as generations go by, whatever has been invested in it towards its human environment. Hegel's idealistic dialectic is based on evolution by way of conflict which is essentially internal. This becomes, in Marx' philosophy, a materialistic dialectic that claims to form a scientific materialistic conception of history. In Marx, as in Hegel, the conception is based on a distinction between man's nature and his mode of existence. Both consider alienation as the condition of discrepancy between the actual reality of man's existence and his human potentiality. Alienation, whose origin lies in man's distorted perception of the world of nature, the world of man, and human nature, leaves its mark

on man's physical and spiritual life and on all spheres of his activity. In Hegel's theory of alienation all such manifestations are rooted in the human spirit. For Marx, however, they relate to an empirical reality that is manifested in a way of life, of real men who live and act in a social milieu. According to Hegel, human alienation has been decreasing through the course of history at the same time as human identity has been growing towards its full realisation. According to Marx, alienation is part of the very existence of man and can only be conquered in a communist society.

The fourth chapter presents Sartre's conception, who thinks that Marxism is the only valid interpretation of historical process. Sartre assigns importance to contemporary existentialism because, in his opinion, there are no Marxist philosophers except Marx himself who perceive human life in a comprehensive conception. He contends that while Marxism has presented the distorted cognitive categories of bourgeois society, it leaves man unable to fulfill his requirements and satisfy his existential needs. According to the later Sartre, Existentialism is but a transient theory. Its function is to wrestle with Marxism from within, as long as the latter persists in a state of stagnation and crisis. Yet, it seems that in spite of Sartre's attempts, Marxism and Existentialism are two conflicting theories.

The chapter briefly develops an explanation of Sartre's dialectical method and compares the concept of man in his phenomenological - existentialist method, to that of the social individual in Marx' doctrine, where man is perceived from birth to death as a being moulded by society, both physically and spiritually. Contrary to Sartre, Marx' real man is not a product of his consciousness but a product of himself (of his praxis). Sartre does not recognise this human essence. For Marx, that essence is not only an ideal and a norm, but also a product of history. When referring to absolute freedom, Sartre regards objective circumstances, society and economy, as elements among other components of human "activity". Marx, on examining social

process from a comprehensive viewpoint, considers free man as one of the factors of a historical social process. Neither Sartre nor Marx wish to make an unequivocal choice between circumstance and free choice. Both seek to discover a dialectical relation between circumstance and man. The reason for studying Marx' doctrine against the background of Sartre lies not in a mere comparison of the two philosophies. It lies in the interest of examining a philosophical conception founded on socio-economic data, in view of a philosophical perception, with a psychological point of departure. This discussion is guided by the wish to see on which points the psychological approach is complementary to the social, and in what aspects they are contradictory.

The theme of the fifth chapter is alienation in the process of work, and the possibility of its abolition. I begin with some general comments on the concept of work. This concept is examined in Marx' works from different angles, thus causing difficulties for commentators. Marx' argumentation on the subject of work is historical and therefore dynamic. In all aspects, philosophical and economic, Marx examines work from the viewpoint of the subject, of the real individual. Work serves as his point of departure for examining a subjects relation to himself and to his way of production. The production process here becomes a criterion for historical development in which the separation between the process of work and its results are made visible. Work is examined in its three components: the intentional action (the work itself), the subject of work (the relationship between man and nature) and the means of work. In the historical evolution an additional component is examined -- the division of work. The mechanisms of the processes of work and exchange dominate the free man. In capitalist society where alienation in the work process reaches its peak, alienation in general does also.

The second half of the chapter deals with abolition of work, which does not only mean the abolition of the division of labour. Abolition of work means abolition of the by-products

of intentional activity. Abolition of the method in which the subject has been moulded. The solution to the problem of alienation is, according to Marx, nothing else but annullment of intentionality in praxis. (That is, in fact, the main characteristic of communism)

The chapter ends with a modern thinker's criticism of Marx' idea of the abolition of work and its implication for modern society: the developing of dehumanization during leisure.

The concluding words deal with solutions that Marx' philosophy suggests for the problem of alienation, as they are presented in his philosophy. According to this theory, it is impossible to solve the problem of alienation except by a comprehensive solution to the alienation of both individual and society. By presenting the "Communist Utopia", Marx is aiming at the possibility and the potential immanent in every person to realise his humanity and conquer the "inhuman in him".

NOTES

1. I shall be using "self-management" in the sense of Auto-gestion.
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7. Febrenbacker, Essays of David M. Potter, N.Y., 1973, pp. 310, 328, 362.
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13. Kon, p. 152. Kon quotes from Melvin Seeman, "On the Meaning of Alienation", Amer. Soc. Review, December, 1959, vol. 24, pp.783 - 791.
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16. Martin Buber, Netivot BeUtopia, Tel Aviv, 1947, p. 146.
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18. Lowenthal, pp.235 - 237.
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23. Bottomore, p. 132.
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25. Buber, pp. 137, 138, 149.
26. Petrovic, pp. 105, 106.
27. Buber, pp. 146.
28. Taylor, p. 57.
29. Buber, p. 132.
30. Chevènement, p. 253.
31. Ibid., pp. 247 - 248.
32. Lowenthal, pp. 225, 226.
33. Maria Hirszovicz, "Industrial Democracy, Self Management and Social Control of Production", The Socialist Idea, p. 215.
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35. Michael Harrington, "Leisure as the Means of Production", The Socialist Idea, pp. 153 - 161.
36. Daniel Mayer, Socialisme: le Droit de l'Homme au Bonheur, Paris, 1976.
37. Hirszovicz, p. 213.
38. Buber, pp. 138 - 139.
39. Domenico Mario Nuti, "Socialism and Ownership", The Socialist Idea, p. 187.
40. Mayer, p. 23.
41. Audry, p. 184

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47. B. Baumann, "George Mead and Luigi Pirandello", Marxism and Sociology, p. 206.
48. Chevènement, p. 174.
49. Hirszovicz, p. 214.
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55. Israel, p. 31.
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57. Ibid., p. 141.
58. Ibid., pp. 119, 133, 134, 136.
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60. Urbanek, p. 188.
61. Bedrich, pp. 234 - 241.
62. Potter, p. 329.
63. Buber, p. 130.
64. Bauman, pp. 6 - 7.
65. Chevènement, pp. 211, 217.

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